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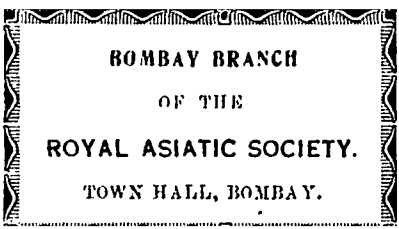

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A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE AND ITS COLONIES.

VOL. II.

UND DAS BAND DER STAATEN WARDGEHOBEN,
UND DIE ALTEN FORMEN STÜRZTEN EIN!

SCHILLER.

THE BOND OF THE NATIONS WAS BROKEN, AND THE ANCIENT EDIFICE OVERTHROWN!

A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE AND ITS COLONIES,

FROM ITS FORMATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, TO ITS RE-ESTABLISHMENT UPON THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FIFTH GERMAN EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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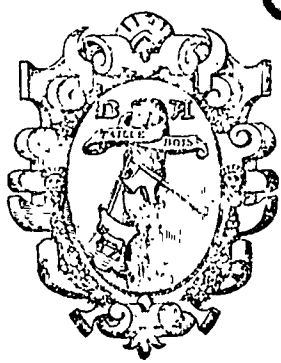

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A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE AND ITS COLONIES.

SECOND PERIOD. *Third Division.—From* 1740 *to* 1786.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES SYSTEM.

General remarks. 1740-1786.

1. THE age of Frederic may justly take his name; yet how powerfully soever his mind may have acted upon it, the age was so variously marked, that it is difficult to represent it in all its bearings. The civilisation of Europe was carried during this period to its highest point of perfection, and embraced all that the mind of man could grasp. The nations of this part of the world consequently became more assimilated to each other; languages widely diffused facilitated the general circulation of ideas; and the difference of religious faith began more and more to lose its importance among the people, as it had already lost its weight among their rulers.

2. This progress of so extensive a civilisation manifested itself in various ways. Government, as well as political economy, made surprising

General remarks. 1740-1786.

advances; the commerce of the world obtained an extent and importance hitherto unparalleled. Every sea was navigated; and the most distant countries explored. Military and naval tactics were carried to the highest perfection. And this great advance was not confined to merely practical affairs; the spirit of the age was not less inclined to matters of theory: every thing became subject to investigation; every notion was tried by the test of reason; and this was its most striking peculiarity. Nothing was thought beyond the reach of human intelligence. What discoveries it already imagined it had made; what did it believe beyond its reach?

3. One consequence of this wide diffusion of civilisation was the great influence which it gave to writers of eminent talents. The cultivated classes of society were far more closely connected than in any former period. The wall of partition, which manners and fashion had placed between the citizens and nobility, was broken down, when the world of polite literature became common to both, and was alike valued by both; and however tenacious the nobility might be of their civil prerogatives, they willingly relaxed much of their haughty rigidity in social life. The first example of this change was given by that very city, which the nations of Europe regarded as the arbitress in all matters of *ton* and *etiquette;* and its influence was correspondently great.

4. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the cabinet policy of Europe retained its ancient forms, it was affected by things which had never influenced it before. Great writers, read in all circles, even in the highest, guided public opinion; and their voice became one of authority. Though they did not directly hold a seat in the cabinet, though they exercised no immediate influence on the events of the day, they nevertheless enlarged, in various ways, the circle of ideas; and in many cases, of the highest practical importance, they entirely directed the public mind. How could this be otherwise, when statesmen, even kings, became authors, and lived in familiar intercourse with authors? Could this happen without influencing the tone and practice both of domestic and foreign policy? And could anything less be expected considering the great change which had taken place, generally for the worse, in the modes of thinking, arising from the diminution of religious feeling, not only among the great, but also among the people? How unsatisfactory would be the history of this period, were we to shut our eyes to these phenomena, and to the influence which they exercised on the state of Europe. General remarks. 1740-1786.

5. How much, not directly political in its nature, would it be necessary for us to notice, were we to attempt to answer the great question: How, in the very time when the proud structure of the political system of Europe appeared to

General remarks. 1740-1786.

stand forth in all its strength and solidity, it could have been undetermined on so many sides, and its principal pillars made to totter? The work of destruction was, perhaps, begun at an earlier period, but it is undeniable that it made most progress during this, though unheeded by the age itself. None but a building completely undermined could have experienced so fearful a shock as that which has since befallen the political system of Europe.

6. If we wished to distinguish this period with a general appellation, perhaps that of the German period would be the most appropriate. Germans filled all the principal thrones of Europe, that of the Bourbons excepted: Frederic, in Prussia; Maria Theresa, in Austria; Catharine, in Russia; and the Georges, in England. German armies were the models of military tactics; German countries of civil government. None disputed with this nation the fame of science; and though in the bolder flight of its literature, its writers belonged less to Europe than to itself: it possessed, on the other hand, the consolation, that it never cherished in its bosom any of that race of sophistical sceptics, the general diffusion of whose writings contributed so essentially to disturb the peace and order of society.

7. In looking at the public affairs of this period, we are struck with the fact, that the west and north of Europe were more deeply con-

nected with each other, than in any preceding period. This is accounted for by the flourishing state of the Prussian monarchy, which, after it had assumed its station in the rank of the great powers, became the link which united the chains of the two state-systems. Although this connection should not pass unobserved, yet the north still retained its own proper interest; and it was rather Prussia itself, which was implicated in the disputes of the two systems, than that they became in reality united into one.

General remarks. 1740-1786.

1. PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF EUROPE.

FROM 1740 to 1786.

1. *To the alliance between France and Austria, from* 1740 *to* 1756.

Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756.

The collection of state papers of WENK and of VON MARTENS, (see vol. i, p. 2.) A general view of the treaties of peace is given in:

Sources.

Geist der merkwürdigsten Bündnisse und Friedenschlüsse des 18*ten Jahrhunderts*, von CHR. D. VOSS. Gera, 1801-2, 5 vols. 8vo. The fourth volume belongs to this period.

We have as yet no general history of this remarkable period: an attempt is made in:

J. C. ADELUNG'S *pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europas von dem Ableben Kaiser Karl's VI. an bis auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten.* Gotha, 1752—1769, 9 vols. 4to. This comes down to 1759.

Memoirs unfortunately now begin to become more rare. Their place is supplied in some degree by:

W. COXE'S *History of the House of Austria, from the*

Affairs of Europe. 1747-1756.

foundation of the Monarchy under Rodolphus of Hapsburgh, to the death of Leopold II. Lond. 1807, 3 vols. 4to. or 5 vols. 8vo. and by:

Sources.

Œuvres posthumes de FREDERIC II. Berlin, 15 vols. 8vo. 1788. To history belong, vol. i. ii. containing the *Histoire de mon temps, from* 1741 *to* 1745. The most spirited of all the historical works of this royal author, but not without animosity. Vol. iii. iv. contain the *Histoire de la guerre de sept ans.* As the title announces, it is merely a history of the war. Vol. v. contains *Histoire depuis* 1763 *à* 1778.

The number of journals and political pamphlets increased extraordinarily in this period. After those formerly quoted in vol. i. had ceased, the most perfect was:

Politisches Journal. Altona, from 1781, two volumes annually. (Edited by SCHIRACH). [The annual Register is the most important English work.]

A. CHR. WEDEKIND *Chronologisches Handbuch der neuern Geschichte* von 1740 to 1807. Luneburg, 1808. Very useful for the chronology.

8. This period began with a violent convulsion of the European system, which, in as far as it aimed at the destruction of one of its leading monarchies, seemed to menace the overthrow of the whole. It was occasioned by the extinction of the male line of the Austrian or Hapsburg family, in Charles VI., who, as well as his elder brother Joseph, left only daughters.

Death of Charles VI., Oct. 20, 1740. Maria Theresa, his elder daughter (born 1717), according to the Pragmatic Sanction, heiress to all his states, was married to Francis Stephen, formerly duke of Lorraine, but, as already mentioned, from 1737 archduke of Tuscany. Maria Josepha, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph I., was married to Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony; the younger, Maria Amelia, was married to Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria.

9. In this same year Frederic II. had succeeded his father on the throne. He ascended it determined to raise Prussia to the rank of one of the great powers of Europe; and regarded aggrandisement as the means by which he must effect it. He gave himself but little trouble respecting the justice of his undertakings; but he was distinguished from the herd of common conquerors by having one fixed object. He desired no more than was requisite for that object, and the conquest of Silesia appeared to him sufficient.—His claims to some portion of it furnished him with an apology. Thus begun, in this year, under a propitious concurrence of political relations, the first Silesian war.

Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756.

May 31, 1740.

Claims of Prussia on the duchy of Silesia: 1st, *Jägerndorf*. It properly belonged to a younger branch of the electoral line, but duke John George, as adherent to Frederic V. elector of the Palatinate, was put under the ban of the empire, by Ferdinand II. 1623, and neither he nor his heirs restored. 2ndly, *Leignitz*, *Brieg*, and *Wohlau*. These claims were founded on a compact of inheritance, by which the survivor was to succeed to the property of the other, concluded 1735, between the then duke and the elector Joachim II. This compact was opposed by Ferdinand I. as king of Bohemia and supreme feudal lord. After the extinction of the ducal house, 1675, Austria took possession of it: and in 1686, the prince elector, Frederic William, renounced it, in consideration of the transfer of the circle of Schwiebuss, which however was again secured to Austria, by a secret treaty with the then electoral prince, and actually resigned in 1695, after the commencement of his reign.—However just or groundless these claims were, the whole conduct of Frederic proves, that he would rather enforce them by arms than by negotiation, for thus only could he

Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756.

gain the whole of Silesia.—Invasion of the almost defenceless country, Dec. 1740, and almost bloodless conquest till the battle of Molwiz, April 10, 1741.

10. This sudden enterprise of Frederic hastened forwards a far greater project in the French court; not devised by the ruling minister, Cardinal Fleury, but by a party in the court; the leaders of which, the marshal Belleisle and his brother, hoped to make it the means of increasing their power. Elizabeth of Spain was no less urgent, "that her second son too might gain a morsel of bread." Its object was nothing less than to tear from the Austrian monarchy the imperial crown, and at the same time to effect its dismemberment.

The depriving of Austria of the imperial crown, which would have rendered it, both in form and fact, elective, would of itself have been sufficient to destroy the European system. —Had there not already been enough of elective kingdoms?

11. No semblance of justice could here be brought forward, for France had not merely recognised, but even guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. This, however, seemed to France, the time for destroying her ancient rival, and for dividing her provinces. The distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, and the certainty of finding allies, was a powerful inducement; but it was soon seen, that the means were badly calculated: even if the attempt had succeeded, would France have been a gainer? Under existing circumstances, the dominion of Europe,

which she, perhaps, flattered herself she should obtain, was an empty phantom. To maintain that dominion, far different men would have been necessary, than any which France could bring into the field or employ in the cabinet.

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Europe depuis, 1740 *jusqu' à* 1748. Amsterd. 1749, 3 vols. 12mo. (par M. DE SPOHN). Written entirely to favour the interest of France.

12. But the aggression itself needed a pretext; and as this was found in the support of foreign claims, the need of foreign alliances followed. In this lay the tacit confession of weakness. A power, which wishes to become the mistress of others, may as well renounce its pretensions, if it has not sufficient strength of its own to make them good. Allies will soon desert; and of this France had bitter experience. In none of the preceding great wars had there been such a vacillation of alliances, for never had allies fewer points of agreement in their respective views. Besides, what member of the confederacy, except France, could have seriously wished, or even hoped for, the entire dissolution of the Austrian monarchy?

13. No wonder, though, that France should have immediately found many and powerful allies, where the prospect of gain was so inviting. Her attention, above all, was directed towards Bavaria, her ally in the former war of succession, in order to have a candidate for the imperial crown. But the elector, Charles Albert, discovered, in addition, that he had in reality a right

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Alliance against Austria.

to the whole Austrian monarchy. Spain also made the same discovery for itself; and Saxony soon after found that the Pragmatic Sanction could have no validity, and that she, of all, had the nearest claim. Thus Europe witnessed the singular spectacle of three powers, each of which claimed the whole monarchy, uniting with France, which itself had no further pretence, than a wish to vindicate the rights of all.

Claims of Bavaria, founded on a will of the emperor Ferdinand I. of which the original did not contain what it was said to do.—Those of Spain on a very erudite genealogy: on a compact between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, at the abdication of the German countries; and a proviso of Philip III. at his renunciation of the Austrian succession, 1617.—Those of Saxony on the rights of the wife of Augustus III. as the eldest daughter of Joseph I.—Secret alliance at Nymphenburg, May 18, 1741, between France, Bavaria, and Spain, to which Saxony also acceded September 19.

14. Under these circumstances, Frederic II. considered it judicious to join the confederacy against Austria; and Prussia, for the first time, became allied with France. But it was soon seen how different were the views of this king from those of the allies. They were to serve him as means for accomplishing his schemes; and though he joined them, it was with the tacit proviso, that he should withdraw himself as soon as his own convenience should permit.

Nov. 1, 1741.

15. Maria Theresa, who made her husband joint ruler with herself, (without however imparting to him any great share in the govern-

ment,) thus saw more than half Europe leagued against her; and had but little reason to hope for foreign assistance. England was already in open war with Spain; and as for Sweden, foreign policy had taken advantage of its domestic troubles to involve it in a war with Russia (see below). She had, then, only her own strength to trust to, which did not seem augmented by the loss of the imperial crown, (by the election of Charles VII. of Bavaria,) or by the general course of the war. Charles VII. gained but little by the imperial diadem, but Austria lost a great deal.

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Jan. 24, 1742.

Union of the French army under Belleisle with the Bavarian, Sept. 1741, they penetrated into Upper Austria, (which however is soon freed,) and Bohemia, and, in connection with the Saxons, capture Prague, Nov. 26, where Charles VII. receives homage as king of Bohemia, Dec. 19, as does Frederic II. in Silesia, which was now entirely subdued. A second French army, under marshal Maillebois, in Westphalia, preserves the neutrality of the maritime powers. Treaty on this account with George II. Sept. 27, 1741.

16. But the threatened violence to the Austrian monarchy, did not allow England to remain a quiet spectator, notwithstanding its war with Spain. The voice of the people demanded too strongly an active participation, to be satisfied with mere subsidies. Could it, without forsaking its whole former policy, have refused assistance to its first ally on the continent? Walpole was not adapted for such stormy times; he yielded his place to the more impetuous Carteret, and

Jan. 24, 1742.

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active measures for rendering assistance were immediately adopted. Thus, after the alliance of Spain with France, the Spanish war necessarily became connected with the German, different as they were in their origin. British subsidies had already found an entrance into Sardinia.

A treaty for subsidies had been previously concluded between England and Austria, June 24, 1741.—A British-German army now assembled in the Netherlands, and at the same time subsidies sent to Sardinia, which bound itself by an agreement, Feb. 1, 1742, to procure the neutrality of Italy.

17. But before the end of the year, the confederacy against Austria was broken up by Frederic II.'s retirement. He was in possession of Silesia; and the victory at Czaslau put an end to all hopes of recovering it from him. He concluded at Breslau his separate peace, to which Saxony likewise acceded.

May 17, 1742.

Preliminaries of peace between Prussia and Austria at Breslau, June 11; definitive treaty at Berlin, July 28, 1742. Conditions: 1. Renunciation of all alliances which were opposed to peace. 2. Maria Theresa resigns to Prussia all Upper and Lower Silesia, and the county of Glaz. 3. The principality of Teschen, with some contiguous districts of Upper Silesia, still remained to Austria.

18. By thus ridding itself of one of its most powerful enemies, Austria acquired a great superiority over the others. Bohemia was recovered; Bavaria itself was conquered, and the emperor Charles VII. compelled to fly; and the British-

German army gaining, the next year, a complete victory at Dettingen, the French were not only compelled to recross the Rhine, but Austria and England succeeded in obtaining two new allies, the king of Sardinia in Italy, and the elector of Saxony in Germany. And when the British troops had landed in the Netherlands, the republic agreed, at the request of England, to raise an auxiliary body for Austria.

1743.

Recapture of Bohemia and blockade of the French army in Prague, June 1742. After the evacuation of the city by Belleisle, possession is taken of it, and Maria Theresa is crowned there, May 12, 1743. Bavaria occupied, May 1743. Victory of the Pragmatic army at Dettingen, June 27; alliance at Worms with the king of Sardinia, Sept. 13; and with Saxony, Dec. 20, 1743.

19. But France, so far from thinking of peace, especially as Fleury, the friend of peace, was dead, no longer appeared the mere auxiliary of her allies, but declared war directly against both Austria and England.

Jan. 20, 1743.

While France and England carried on the war merely as auxiliaries, it did not extend either to the sea or to the colonies, as now happened. Naval victory of the British over the Spanish-French fleet, off Toulon, Feb. 24, 1744. This battle occasioned the declaration of war against England, March 15, against Austria, April 27, an alliance, offensive and defensive, having been already concluded, Oct. 25, 1743, at Fontainebleau, between France and Spain.

20. The allies having thus the superiority, Frederic II. again decided upon war. Honour appeared to demand, that he should prevent the

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utter ruin of the emperor Charles VII., of [redacted] varia and the German empire, who had escaped [redacted] flight, and in whose election he had participat[redacted] But a stronger motive than honour, the fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, now leagued with Saxony, should be victorious, engaged him to this measure. He therefore again entered into an alliance with France and the German empire. He found an easy access, for he was needed; though his maxims in alliances could be no longer a secret.

Second alliance between Prussia and France, March, 1744; and, soon after, the union of Francfort, May 22, with Charles VII., the Palatinate, and Hesse-Cassel.

21. This second Silesian war gave new life to the struggle. Frederic II. invaded Bohemia, though without success; while France, delivered thereby from the Austrians along the upper Rhine, breathed more freely; and Charles VII. survived long enough to return to his capital.

Jan. 20, 1745.

His death, which soon followed, seemed necessarily to produce an entire change in the situation of affairs; his son and successor, Maximilian Joseph, willingly renounced his claims on the imperial crown, in return for his hereditary territories.

Peace of Füssen, between Austria and Bavaria, April 22, 1745. Conditions: 1. Austria restored to Bavaria all its conquests. 2. The elector promised Francis Stephen his vote at the imperial election.

22. The only effect of this secession of Bavaria was, that the war no longer raged in

interior of Germany; and that Austria, Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756.
ugh opposed by Brandenburg, succeeded in Sep. 13, 1754.
aining the imperial crown for Francis I. France still prosecuted the war—it is difficult to say for what purpose—but the death of the emperor inclined Frederic II. to peace, as soon as he had secured to himself Silesia. This security was strengthened by repeated victories, and the convention with England at Hanover: and before the end of the year, he entered, for the second time, into a separate peace for himself; without demanding more than in the former one.

Victory of the king, over the Austrians and Saxons, under Charles of Lorraine, at Hohenfriedberg, June 4, 1745. Convention at Hanover, August 26, by which England offered itself as the guarantee of Silesia. But to impel Austria to accept it, needed the new victories of the king over the Austrians, at Sorr, Sept. 30, and of the prince of Dessau over the Saxons, at Kesselsdorf, December 15. Peace of Dresden, Dec. 25, between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria and Saxony on the other, according to the basis of the convention at Hanover. Conditions: 1. Possession of Silesia is confirmed, according to the peace of Breslau. 2. Frederic II. recognises Francis I. as emperor. 3. Saxony pays Prussia a million rix dollars.

23. On the other hand, the war was carried on by France, and her yet remaining allies, in the Netherlands and Italy with the greatest vigour. It was planned, that a descent should be made upon Scotland by Charles Edward, son of the pretender, the first success of which was beyond

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their hopes. France, too, found the general wanted in a foreigner; the victories of the marshal prince Maurice of Saxony in the Netherlands, opened her an outlet from the labyrinth, which the presence of the king with the army had not disclosed to her.

Campaigns of the marshal of Saxony from 1745. Victory at Fontenai, in the presence of Louis XV., May 11, over Cumberland. Winter campaign, and capture of Brussels and Brabant, Feb. 1746. The progress of the pretender recalls the duke of Cumberland, and the best of the British troops, to England, till the victory at Culloden, April 27, suppresses the insurrection. Meanwhile, the French make some progress in the Netherlands; victory of Marshal Saxe at Raucoux, over duke Charles, Oct. 11, and in the following year, June 20, 1747, over the duke of Cumberland, at Laffield.

Lettres et Mémoires du Maréchal de Saxe, choisis parmi les papiers originaux. Paris, 1794, 5 vols. 8vo.

Mémoires sur les campagnes des pays-bas en 1745, 1746, *et* 1747, publiés par A. H. L. HEEREN. à Goettingue, 1803, 8vo. From the papers of Charles Frederic, prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch auxiliary troops.—By means of these accounts of both parties, few campaigns have been described so clearly as this. Much of the greatness of the marshal must be attributed to the littleness of his foes!

24. Italy, too, within these last years, had become the field of action. The hopes of Elizabeth to conquer in that country a kingdom for D. Philip, her younger son, had directed thither from the very beginning, the eyes of Spain; but the king of Sardinia's espousal of the cause of Austria, at the instigation of England, and the British dominion of the Mediterranean, opposed

the progress of the power of the Bourbons; and the late conquest of Lombardy, after Genoa had concurred, was of short duration, as soon as Austria was left at liberty by the peace of Dresden.

Landing of the Spanish troops, now commanded by Don Philip, in Italy, as early as Nov. 1741, in order to conquer Milan with the aid of Naples. Treaty of Sardinia with Austria, Feb. 1, 1742, respecting the reservation of its own claims on Milan. Naples forced to neutrality by a British fleet, August 19. Don Philip reinforced, 1743, by a French army. Treaty of Worms, between Sardinia and England and Austria, Sept. 13; the Bourbon troops driven back in October, and fruitless attempt to conquer Piedmont. But Genoa joins the Bourbon courts, June 29, 1745; and Milan and Parma thereupon captured. The Austrians, however, 1746, are reinforced by new troops after the peace of Dresden. The French repulsed, the Spaniards forced to retreat from Lombardy, and Genoa taken by the Austrians, Sept. 5. Invasion of Provence, which fails after the loss of Genoa, in consequence of the insurrection there, Dec. 5. Genoa heroically defended, and relieved by French aid, April to June, 1747.

25. So protracted a contest had given passion time to cool. By the death of Philip V. of Spain, France saw herself deserted by this ally; her weak navy was almost annihilated; her colonies in the two Indies were captured, or menaced. She still, however, hoped to effect a separation of her enemies, through her superiority in the Netherlands, by a violent attack on the republic. (The restoration of the hereditary stadtholders was a consequence of this attack.) But France was now threatened by a

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new and powerful enemy, as Austria had induced Russia to join in the war, and a Russian auxiliary army poured down upon the Rhine.

War declared by France against the Republic, April 17; an attack on Dutch-Brabant, and capture of Bergen-op-zoom, Sept. 16, 1747.—Defensive alliance concluded between Austria and Russia, June 12; and a subsidiary contract between Russia and England, Nov. 30.

26. These circumstances led to the opening of a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but France did not forget its ancient policy of separating the allies. The siege of Mastrichts, the threatened demolition of Bergen-op-zoom, and the apprehension of a separate peace with Austria, soon occasioned separate preliminaries with the maritime powers; and these Austria and the other allies were soon compelled to adopt.

April 15, 1748.

Congress opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, April 1748. Preliminaries concluded between France and the maritime powers, April 30, to which Austria acceded, May 25. The negotiations, however, were protracted through the summer, in consequence of the advances of the Russians, with whom a special convention was made, August 2. Definitive peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and the maritime powers, to which Spain, Austria, Genoa, and Sardinia immediately acceded. Conditions: 1. Mutual restitution of the respective conquests made by France and England. (To France, Cape Breton; to England, Madras; to the Republic, the frontier fortresses, mostly dismantled). Nothing concluded respecting the contested boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia. 2. Resignation of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, in favour of Don Philip and his male posterity, with the condition of a reversion. 3. Sardinia obtains the portions of Milan, resigned 1743. 4. The *assiento* treaty of 1713 is confirmed to England for the four

years still remaining. (An acquittal from its obligations afterwards purchased by a treaty at Buen Retiro, Oct. 5, 1750.) 5. Dunkirk remained fortified on the land side. 6. Guaranty of Silesia and Glatz, in favour of Frederic, from all claimants. 7. Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of Austria. 8. Guaranty of the British succession and of the German states, in favour of the house of Hanover. Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756

The most important ambassadors at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, were: for France, the count of St. Severin and la Porte du Theil. For Great Britain, the earl of Sandwich. For Austria, the count of Kaunitz-Rietberg. For the Republic, count Bentinc, baron von Wassenaer von Haren, etc. For Spain, Don de Lima. For Sardinia, Don Ossorio. For Genoa, marquis Doria.

27. Thus an end was put, by this peace, to the project of overthrowing the existing system of Europe, by the dismemberment of Austria. It lost Silesia, Parma, and Piacenza; but it kept its station as one of the great powers; and it gained in a short time, a rich compensation for its losses, by a better use of its vast internal resources.

28. But the consequences of this war were important, not merely to the separate states, who had been engaged in it; they were still more so as regards the mutual relations between them; and they soon gave rise to a revolution in these, which gave the first great shock to the stability of the European system.

29. At the first glance, it might appear, that Europe had in reality been restored by this peace to its former relations. France and Austria stood in rivalry, as the leading powers of the continent. England had renewed its ancient

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connections with Austria, and contributed essentially towards its preservation; even an alliance between Austria and Russia was not now contracted for the first time.

30. And yet how much had been changed during the war, and still more since? The continental policy of Britain, so far as it aimed at the preservation of the existing political system, was, in its object, highly salutary for Europe; but the measures adopted for effecting this, were not equally so. On land, England maintained the war, rather by subsidies than by her own strength. The old ties of continental relations were renewed; and states, not only of the second, but also of the first rank, were subsidised, and among these, not only the oppressed Austria, but even Russia. Thus, by money, England acquired the direction of the war, and by the same means the arrangement of the peace. To what lengths did she not carry, in after years, her notions respecting the right and power she had to direct the affairs of the continent? Still more important consequences, however, arose from her dominion of the sea, now acquired for the first time, which cannot, however, be made plain till the following sections.

31. It was a new thing to see Russia, not merely participating in the affairs of the west, but, in a certain measure, determining the balance. Though the part she took at this time was little more than a demonstration of her power, yet

the tie by which she now became connected with the ruling affairs of Europe was never again severed, as was more fully proved by the next great European war. Affairs of Europe. 1740-1756.

32. But the greatest, the most important revolution, which this war occasioned in the states-system of Europe, was the elevation of Prussia to the rank of a leading power. Even the entrance of a new state, such as this, into the system, could not take place without causing great changes in its political relations. Such a power could not maintain its position of itself; and if it seek friends and allies, this cannot take place without having a correspondent influence on the relations that have previously existed between these and others.

33. It is evident, too, that a new power, like this, would not be regarded by the old ones with a friendly eye. When was the aspirant ever viewed without jealousy by the ancient possessors of the power he desired to obtain? It was with bitter feelings, that Fleury called Frederic the arbiter of Europe. Frederic retired from the war without a single friend; nor had he taken the least pains to form any friendships of a lasting nature. His method of contracting and dissolving alliances, was not the way to effect this; and the independence he manifested only receives our approbation, because the manner in which he maintained it extorts our admiration.

34. The rise of Prussia was the more annoy-

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ing to the other states, because its aggrandisement was effected by conquest. When Austria ceded territory of much larger extent at the peace of Vienna and Belgrade to Spain and Turkey, she regarded it but as a single loss; the renunciation of Silesia was at the same time a mortification. The former might demand compensation, the latter called for revenge. After events soon proved that it was only in the hope of being able to gratify this, that peace had been concluded.

35. Hence the peace, while it lasted, was necessarily a time of strong excitement; not only for the Prussians, who merely rested on their arms, but also for other powers. The possession of Silesia, being the great point contended for, became the principal object in practical politics; and it follows from the situation of Prussia and Austria, that they would be the leading continental powers in this struggle; and as their relations and interests called the rest of Europe into action, the whole system became influenced by their fortunes. The rising rivalry between them kept them vigilant and active, and called forth all their vigour; and wherever states are roused to these virtues their power is sure to dominate.

36. Austria still felt, that in order to subvert Prussia, allies were necessary. But with the feelings which then prevailed in the cabinets of Europe there could be little trouble in obtaining

these, as Frederic II. had so little restrained himself from irritating the weak passions of the potentates. The close relations of Austria with Russia and Saxony, had been kept up from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and from the personal hatred of the empress Elizabeth of Russia, and that of count Brühl, the ruling minister at the court of Saxony, Austria easily persuaded these powers to cooperate with her. Measures were accordingly secretly concerted (not so secretly, however, that Frederic II. did not discover them) for a common attack, as soon as the parties could make the necessary preparations.

37. However important these alliances were for Austria, there still remained the power of France, which, in case of a renewed war, would probably, in accordance with its former relations, take up arms on the side of Prussia, to throw into the opposite scale: and how uncertain, in such a case must be the issue? Under these circumstances, an alliance with France was the most desirable thing for Austria; but there appeared but little prospect of her wishes being realised in this respect.

38. Austria, however, found a minister, who not only conceived, but attempted this project; and built his own greatness on its accomplishment. During four reigns, prince Kaunitz was 1753. the soul of the Austrian cabinet; or rather, in possessing the joint dignities of chancellor of the court and state, he almost constituted this cabi-

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net of himself. Contrasted with Frederic, he appeared in almost every thing his opposite. In outward appearance, the statesman lay concealed under the Sybarite; his natural indolence, joined with his great diplomatic abilities, led him to form his bold designs in private; and, though well acquainted himself with all the intricacies and intrigue of cabinet policy, he chose rather to leave the execution of his projects to others than to take the trouble into his own hands.

Notwithstanding VON HORMAYR'S valuable sketch in the *Œstreichischen Plutarch*, vol. xii, a full biography of this enigmatical statesman, who, after Frederic, had the greatest influence on the politics of his age, is still a desideratum. The works of FLASSAN and RULHIERE, as well as of COXE, contain contributions to such an undertaking, besides the *Characteristics*, in the German literary journal called *Jason*, (Aug. 1808,) edited by BENZEL-STERNAU.

39. And what might not now be accomplished at the French court, where Louis XV. had sunk into the slave of his mistresses? Under his predecessors, Europe had already seen mistresses and their influence; but never a government of mistresses like that of the marchioness of Pompadour. As the remains of ancient principles had been banished with the ancient ministers, an adroit diplomatist, like Kaunitz, could not despair of obtaining his ends. Had there been no other reason, novelty itself had a charm.

1746 to 1764.

Since the death of Fleury, 1743, the French ministry had never been able to acquire any stability; and least of all, the department of foreign affairs, which Louis XV. as usual, be-

lieved himself competent to conduct, till his mistress relieved him of this care also. After the retirement of her favourite, the Abbé Bernis, he was succeeded, from 1757 to 1770, by de Choiseul-Stainville, a native of Lorraine, who showed the world that a mistaken policy may be united with great talents. Under him, his cousin, Choiseul-Praslin, had the management of foreign affairs from 1761.

40. The ready mind of Kaunitz, who went to France as ambassador extraordinary, soon discovered this state of things, and conceived the project, which he, placed at the head of the cabinet after his return, left for his successor Staremberg, to execute. To rule Europe in common, provided Frederic II. should be overthrown, was the prospect which the Austrian policy held out to France. But what could have been the probable result of Frederic's ruin, but the oppression of the weaker, and with Austria's predominance in Germany, the subversion of the freedom of the European system?

Dec. 1750.

1755.

First alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Austria, concluded May 1, 1756, by the Abbé Bernis, introduced by a simultaneous compact of neutrality on the side of the empress, in the war just breaking out between England and France; by which compact Austria renounced, therefore, her connection with England. During the seven years' war, in an agreement subscribed in May, 1757, though not ratified, definite resolutions were adopted with respect to the division of the Prussian monarchy; Silesia was to fall to Austria, Pomerania to Sweden, Magdeburg, etc. to Saxony, the Netherlands in return for Parma and Piacenza, to Don Philip, etc. —This treaty of alliance was finally renewed and enlarged Dec. 30, 1758, by Choiseul. They agreed to assist each

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other with all their power; and never to make peace except by mutual consent.

41. The advantages of this connection were, therefore, altogether on the side of Austria; for what could France gain from helping to ruin the enemy of Austria, but the honour of participating in the future dominion of Europe, as far as Austria would permit? In the eyes of enlightened policy, however, the principal error of France does not consist in this mistake, but in the sacrifice she made of her political character; and no power can do this with impunity. As the opponent of Austria, she had for two centuries maintained her high rank among the continental powers; how must she have sunk, then, on becoming the mere assistant of Austria!

The alliance of Austria and France must be contemplated in two points of view: 1. as it effected the separate states. The gain of Austria, and the loss of France, are here manifest. 2. As it effected the political system of Europe in general. The escape from the dangers which threatened it, and the later advantages, were accidental; because the principal object, the destruction of Frederic, failed. A merely defensive alliance, such as Bernis wished it to be, might have been justified by the necessity of keeping in readiness to encounter England; but could a merely defensive alliance have existed under the circumstances of the times?

II. *From the alliance between France and Austria to the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg*, 1756—1763.

42. This great change in the European political system, which shook it to its centre, would of itself have been sufficient to excite a fierce

contest, as it took place at a time when an attack on Prussia had been already concerted. But materials had long been collecting for war in another quarter, which, though different in its origin, could not but become mixed up with the former. It arose out of the colonial relations of England and France.

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43. England, having succeeded for the first time, during the late war, in annihilating the navy of her enemy, was little inclined to permit her rival to recover, who was now rebuilding her fleets with remarkable energy. The former amicable relations with France, had prevented the rivalry between the governments from growing to any extent. This, however, now increased in proportion to their foreign commerce, which was again connected with their colonies. Here perpetual collisions and disputes arose from the want of sufficient geographical information to enable the parties to fix the limits of their respective possessions. But even had the point of contest at this time been settled, as it perhaps might have been, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, can we doubt that others would soon have occurred? Upon this occasion, British policy took a new method of dealing with her opponents: if she did not receive immediate satisfaction for the injuries of which she complained on land, she indemnified herself by making reprisals at sea, and begin the war even without its being declared.

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Contested points between England and France: 1. Respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, which had been given up at the peace of Utrecht, according to its ancient boundaries, (see vol. i, p. 290,) as England considered new Brunswick to belong to it. 2. Respecting the building of forts along the Ohio, in order to connect Louisiana and Canada; this England would not permit, as she had forts there already. Hostilities commenced, 1754 and 1755, by the mutual seizure of forts. 3. Respecting the occupation of Grenada and neutral islands of the Antilles, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominique, and St. Lucia, by the French, contrary to former agreements. 4. Add to these the rising jealousy respecting Coromandel in the East Indies (see below). The English first had recourse to open force, by the capture of several merchantmen and two ships of the line, June 10, 1755, as reprisals.

44. The commercial and colonial interest had now risen to such a degree of importance, that remote wastes and islands became the occasion of a war, which necessarily spread over all quarters of the world, and the cost and issue of which no one could calculate. But the British navy was superior to the French even before the war, and the hopes to which this gave rise, were among the strongest incentives to it.

England declares war against France, May 15, 1756. Successful attempts of the French against Minorca, and capture of Port Mahon by the duke of Richelieu, June 29.

45. But at the commencement of this maritime war, the combinations against Prussia had advanced so far, that a war with Austria and her allies became inevitable. But as Austria gave up her connection with England, and connected herself with France, the way seemed opened to

an alliance between Prussia and England; the more so, as George II. believed this the only way by which he could secure his German territories against France; and this alliance, Russia, as the ally of Austria, could not allow. Accordingly the two wars became resolved into one; but, before their termination, were again separated and concluded by distinct treaties of peace.

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Only a complete revolution could have forced the two houses of Hanover and Brandenburg, which had almost always been at variance, to an alliance. The first treaty, concluded at Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1756, for the maintenance of neutrality in Germany, by which the compact of neutrality between France and Austria (see above) was hastened. Alliance by the convention of Jan. 11, 1757. Treaty of London, 1758. In consideration of a subsidy of one million sterling, Prussia engaged to furnish England with 20,000 troops.

46. If the first Silesian war on Frederic's side was an offensive one, the seven years' war, although he first drew the sword, was strictly defensive; but the laurels he earned are the more imperishable, the less he was the favourite of fortune. The formidable coalition against him, was mainly indebted for its strength to the meaner passions of the rulers; and it remained indissoluble till the death of Elizabeth. There is something peculiar too in the connection between Frederic and England; closely allied, yet scarcely ever acting in common. William Pitt pursued his career, and Frederic his; both however conducted to the same object; and pro-

Seven years' war.

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vided they met there, what need was there of their uniting on the road?

Administration of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, from Oct. 20, 1756, to Oct. 5, 1761. What a glorious five years! By the greatness of his own character, he elevated that of the nation; for he was the first to breathe into it a confidence in itself.

Life of William Pitt, 2 vols. 4to. 1780.

Aug. 1756. 47. The war began on land, by Frederic's invasion of Saxony; he found proofs in Dresden of the designs of his enemies.

According to Frederic's manifesto, the preliminary treaty, concluded May 18, 1745, respecting the division of the Prussian territories, remained, even after the peace of Dresden, Dec. 25, the basis of the negotiations between Vienna, Saxony, and Russia; whereupon, May 22, 1746, a defensive treaty is shortly after concluded at Petersburg between Austria and Russia, with four secret articles against Prussia, to which Saxony is disposed to accede, as soon as circumstances would allow. The plan of attack is said to have been matured in Petersburg, about the end of the year 1755.

Recueil des deductions, manifestes, traités, etc. qui ont été rédigés et publiés pour la cour de Prusse (depuis 1756 jusqu' à 1778) par E. F. COMTE DE HERZEBERG, à Berlin, 1790—1795; 3 vols. 8vo. containing the state papers of this and the following periods.

Invasion of Saxony by Frederic, Aug. 1756; capture of Dresden, and blockade of the Saxon army at Pirna, Sept. Victory over the Austrians under field-marshal Brown, at Lowositz, Oct. 1, and capitulation of the Saxons, Oct. 16.

48. By the terms of their agreement, the allies, Saxony, Austria, Russia, and France, were bound, upon the breaking out of hostilities, immediately to take up arms. In addition to these,

the German empire was induced, by the influence of Austria, and Sweden by that of France, to join the coalition: and thus more than half of Europe were arrayed against Frederic. Affairs of Europe. 1756-1763.

Declaration of war by the empire against Prussia, Jan. 17, 1757. Convention of the allies with Sweden, May 21, under the pretence of guaranteeing the peace of Westphalia, and the promise of Pomerania.

49. Fortunately for Frederic, France resolved to commence hostilities against the English in Hanover, who were thus forced, together with Hesse and Brunswick, to become active allies of Frederic. Even small states can at times, when favoured by circumstances, maintain a glorious struggle against the more powerful; and perhaps history never witnessed a more brilliant example of this than was displayed by the allies, after duke Ferdinand, the pupil of Frederic, had become their leader.

Advance of the French army under d'Etrées against Hanover; and victory over the duke of Cumberland at Hastonbek, July 26, 1757. Occupation of Hanover, and convention with Richelieu at Kloster Zeven, Sept. 8; abrogated immediately after, Sept. 26. Duke Ferdinand obtains the command.

50. Perhaps the whole circle of history nowhere displays a spectacle more instructive as respects military tactics, or more sublime as regards human nature, than the conduct of the seven years' war by Frederic. The political historian, on the contrary, finds little deserving his attention, as, till towards its close, no change

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took place in the political relations of Eürope: and Frederic, contending with his apparently inexorable destiny, was compelled to confine his manœuvres to the maintenance of Silesia and Saxony, and the securing, as much as possible, the heart of his territories. The more remote provinces, and even Prussia itself, he was obliged to abandon.

Principal events of the Prussian war: 1757: the invasion of Bohemia, and victory at Prague over Charles of Lorraine, May 6; siege of Prague; evacuation of Bohemia after the defeat at Collin, June 18, by marshal Daun. Advance of the French and imperial armies under Soubise, and defeat at Rossbach, Nov. 5. Silesia reconquered by the victory at Leuthen over duke Charles V., Dec. 5.—On the other hand, a great defeat by the Russians under Aprarin, near Gross Jaderndorf, Aug. 30, who made, however, no use of his victory.—1758: fruitless attack on Olmutz, May. The advance of the Russians under Fermor. Battle at Zorndorf, Aug. 25. Thus, at the same time with the driving back of the Swedes, Brandenburg was covered. Defeat at Hochkirchen, by Daun, Oct. 14. Nevertheless Silesia was still preserved and the siege of Neisse raised, Nov. 5.—1759: renewed advance of the Russians, reinforced by Austrians under Laudon. Severe defeat of the king at Kunersdorf, Aug. 12, and misfortune at Maxen, Nov. 20. Yet Frederic sunk not under these reverses.—1760; Fruitless siege of Dresden, July.—Affairs of Liegnitz, Aug. 15, and Silesia maintained. Battle of Torgau, Nov. 3, by which Frederic is enabled to maintain Saxony.—1761; He carries on a defensive war against the combined armies, Aug. and Sept. Schweidnitz taken by Laudon, Oct. 1.

Histoire de la guerre de sept ans, in the Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., vols. iii, iv. 8vo. Berlin, 1788.

History of the late war in Germany, between the king of Prussia and the empress of Germany and her allies, by GENERAL LLOYD. London, 1781—90, 3 vols. 4to.

J. W. VON ARCHENHOLZ, *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Kriegs in Deutschland.* Berlin, 1793, 2 vols. 8vo.

WARNERY, *Campagnes de Frederic II. de* 1757—1762. á Vienne, 1788, 8vo.

V. RUNIACZO, *Geständnisse eines Œstreichischen Veterans, in Hinsicht auf das Verhältnisse zwischen Œstreich und Preussen während der Regierung Friedrichs II.* Breslau, 1794, 4 vols. 8vo.

51. During these years, one flank of Frederic was always covered by the victories of Ferdinand. His fate probably would have been very different had the French armies been able to advance as easily as the Russians did from the east?

Winter campaign of duke Ferdinand, and the French compelled to evacuate Hanover, 1757, afer the abrogation of the convention of Kloster Zeven.—1758: The duke crosses the Rhine, and victory at Crefeld over count Clermont, June 23. Junction with the British troops.—1759: Victory at Minden, over marshal Contades, Aug. 1, twelve days before Frederic's defeat at Kunersdorf.—From this time a continual superiority is maintained, 1760 and 1761, and the greater part of Hanover preserved.

J. MAUVILLON, *Geschichte des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig und Lüneburg.* Leipzig, 1794, 2 vols. 8vo.

52. During this time the war was carried on with equal spirit at sea, and extended to the two Indies. The British soon obtained a decided superiority on the ocean, after which the conquest of the colonies was easy. In North America the war at first was no more than a

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continuation of ancient hostilities; but a decisive battle soon deprived France of all Canada. In the West Indies and Africa the most important settlements were captured by the English; as was also Pondicherry in the East Indies. French commerce was annihilated; and all this happened at a time when colonies were considered of the greatest consequence.

Capture of Cape Breton, July 1758, and shortly after Canada, in 1759, by general Wolf's victory at Quebec, Sept. 13.—Naval victory at Brest, by Hawke, Nov. 20.—In the West Indies, capture of Gaudaloupe, May 1.—Martinique, Feb. 1762, and shortly after Grenada, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent.—In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Jan. 16, 1762.—On the coasts of Africa, the British made themselves masters of Senegal and Gorea, 1758.

53. Thus the war continued without any change in the political relations of Europe—even the death of George II. had no immediate effect—till the last year but one, when two deaths in its eastern and western extremities, were followed by important, and, in some respects, very remarkable revolutions. The death of the empress Elizabeth deprived Frederic of his bitterest enemy; and in her nephew and successor Peter III. he had as great a friend. This led not only to a separate peace, which was immediately followed by another with Sweden, but even to an alliance; and Europe saw with astonishment, the unprecedented spectacle of an army leaving its allies, and marching over to the camp of its enemies.

Oct. 25, 1760.

Jan. 5, 1762.

1. Cessation of arms at Stargard, March 16, and a peace, May 15, between Russia and Prussia: mutual restitution of all conquests, and disavowal of all unfriendly alliances. The separate articles provided for the establishment of an alliance. —2. Peace between Sweden and Prussia at Hamburg, May 22, by which matters were restored to their ancient footing.

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54. These new relations, however, seemed likely to be destroyed by the almost immediate fall of Peter III; but Catharine II. still preserved a neutrality, which was probably of more advantage to Frederic than an alliance; for much was gained by one leading power setting an example of moderation and reflection. The victorious campaign of this year achieved the rest.

July 9, 1762.

Victory of the king at Burkersdorf, July 21, and of prince Henry at Freiburg, Oct. 29.

55. On the other hand, the war became extended in the west in the same year by both Spain and Portugal joining in it. The neutrality of Spain had continued uninterrupted, as long as Ferdinand VI. reigned. But as Elizabeth survived his death long enough to see her son Charles III. vacate the throne of Naples to ascend that of Spain, French influence obtained a predominance at Madrid; and France, after all her reverses, hoped to gain a compensation for her losses and an increase of power, by heading a general union of the various branches of the house of Bourbon. This was the origin of the FAMILY COMPACT, the

1759.

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stipulations of which necessarily involved Spain in immediate war. But a power, in the full tide of victory, as Great Britain now was, could not be checked by a single additional enemy. Spain was made to pay dearly; and even the implication of Portugal, under these circumstances, was an advantage to England. An important though accidental consequence of it, was the secession of Pitt from the administration.

Secret conclusion of the family alliance of the Bourbons, first between France and Spain, Aug. 15, 1761, with the assumed accession of Naples and Parma. Mutual guarantee of the possessions of both parties; and an alliance offensive and defensive, for ever.—Pitt retires from the ministry, Oct. 5, as the cabinet refuses to anticipate Spain by an immediate declaration of war.—War against Spain actually declared, Jan. 4, 1762. Havannah taken by Pocock, Aug. 11, and Manilla capitulates, Oct. 6.—The attack of Spain on Portugal, unattended by any important consequences, occasions a reform in the military department of that country, under William count of Lippe Bückeburg, one of the heroes of the seven years' war.

56. The alliance between Prussia and England, marked by an almost continual succession of victories till near the end of the war, was now to be dissolved before its complete termination. England had obtained its object. The navy of France was annihilated; almost every colony which that country possessed had fallen into her hands. The cry of the nation for peace, excited by the enormous increase of the national debt and its aversion to the continental war,

had grown stronger since Pitt's retirement from office. The proposals of France were soon followed by preliminaries, which were changed into a separate peace; without any stipulation in favour of Frederic II. beyond the neutrality of France. Well might Frederic complain, but was he not himself the founder of this school of policy!

Preliminary negotiations by the duc de Nivernois in London, and the duke of Bedford in Paris. Preliminaries concluded at Fontainbleau, Nov. 3, 1762, between England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other: changed into a definitive peace at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763. Conditions: *a.* Between France and England. 1. France renounced all claims to Nova Scotia, and resigned Canada with Cape Breton to England. 2. She retained a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland, with the islands St. Pierre and Miquelon, but without fortifications. 3. The Mississippi to form the boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana. 4. In the West Indies, France yielded Grenada to England, who also retained the formerly neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominique, and Tobago; the island of St. Lucie was restored. 5. In Africa, Senegal was given up to England, in consideration of the restitution of Gorea. 6. In the East Indies, France recovered all that she had possessed in the beginning of 1749, and even Pondicherry, upon renouncing all the conquests made there since that time. 7. In Europe: restitution of Minorca to England. 8. Evacuation of Hanover; the allied states left in their former situation. 10. All French troops withdrawn from the empire; and neutrality in the Prussian and Austrian war. *b.* Between Spain and England. 1. Spain resigned the Floridas, (for which France declared herself ready to concede Louisiana in a separate contract; which was not fulfilled till 1769.) 2. In return, England restores the conquests made in Cuba and Havannah. 3. England retained the

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right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. 4. Full restitution to Portugal, who accedes to the peace.

Plenipotentiaries: for England the duke of Bedford; for France, the duc de Choiseul; for Spain, the marquis de Grimaldi.

Œuvres posthumes du Duc de Nivernois. Paris, 1807, 2 vols. 8vo. The letters of the duke during his embassy in England, contain the most important materials for the history of this negotiation.

57. Only Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, now remained in a state of warfare. But what could Austria expect to accomplish by herself? especially as (besides Frederic's last victories) all her Oct. 9th. hopes of Silesia were blighted by the conquest of Schweidnitz. The negotiations for a peace were easy to arrange, for neither party coveted aggrandisement or compensation; and Frederic concluded the glorious peace of Hubertsburg, without having lost a foot of territory.

Peace of Hubertsburg concluded, Feb. 15, 1763. *a.* Between Prussia and Austria. 1. Mutual renunciation of both parties of all claims to the possessions of the other. 2. Confirmation of the treaties of Breslau and Dresden. (In separate secret articles, Prussia promised its electoral vote, in the choice of king of the Romans, to the archduke Joseph, and its mediation in favour of Austria's expectations on Modena.) *b.* Between Prussia and Saxony, all affairs were placed on their ancient footing.—The German empire had already declared itself neutral, Feb. 11, and was included in the peace.

Plenipotentiaries at Hubertsburg; for Prussia, de Herzberg; for Austria, von Collenbach; for Saxony, baron Fritsch.

58. This war, and the peace which terminated it, confirmed the European system as established. Prussia and Austria remained the two first con-

tinental powers; neither the distant Russia, nor the weakened France, enchained by Austria, could make the least pretension to this distinction. Even after the adjustment of their quarrel, therefore, the relations between the two former states, which, though no longer hostile, admitted of no close alliance, remained the leading object of European policy. On these depended not only the balance of power in Germany, but even that of Europe.

59. The close alliances between the Bourbon courts, further cemented by the *family compact*, appear, indeed, to have realised the anxieties that were felt during the Spanish war of succession. But the internal situation of these kingdoms prevented any alarm; and the result has shown, that France could derive but little real benefit from this alliance, though by it she engaged Spain in wars in which that power had no separate interest.

60. The alliance between Great Britain and Prussia was broken by their separate treaties of peace; and a prejudice against the former took root in Frederic's mind, which seems never to have been eradicated till towards the end of his reign. No important point of collision existed between them on the continent, not even in Hanover; for the maintenance of the constitution of the German empire formed an essential part of Frederic's system.

61. This dissolution of the alliance between

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England and Prussia destroyed nearly all the great ties by which the former power was connected with continental policy: there was now only left her relations with Holland and Portugal. As Austria had abandoned her to gain France, and she was only connected with Russia by a commercial treaty, what was there again to engage her in the affairs of the continent, with which she had no common interest? The political influence of England therefore in the European system ceased nearly altogether; and the more so, as the other powers were almost exclusively engaged in domestic concerns of great importance. Commerce with the continent was secured by amicable relations, and some new commercial treaties; and it was easy to foresee the restoration of its political influence, as soon as new commotions on the continent should render British subsidies necessary.

Versuch einer historischen Entwickelung des Brittischen Continentalinteresse, in HEEREN'S *Miscellaneous Historical Writings.* Th. i, 1821, 8vo.

English maritime law.

62. Much greater consequences, however, to Europe, than could at the time have been anticipated, sprung out of the use which England began to make in these wars of its maritime superiority. She had now, for the second time, annihilated the naval force of her enemies. In order to destroy their commerce with it, she now began to deny to neutrals, under whose

flag it might be carried on, the right of trading; especially with their colonies. This encroachment upon the rights of neutral flags laid the foundation of the unjust maritime code, which England afterwards, in times of war, called her maritime law; modifying it according to time and circumstances. Similar claims had indeed been previously made by other powers; but as no one had ever acquired so superior a naval force as the British now possessed, their pretensions had but little practical importance.

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The great point in dispute was, the right of neutrals to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power under its own flag, and on its own account. It was occasioned by the permission granted by France, 1756, to neutrals, to trade with its colonies, having itself been deprived of the power. The English maintained the absolute illegality of this trade, and captured neutral ships and neutral property. Only the usual commerce permitted in peace was allowed to be carried on. The dispute, without important consequences at this time, expired of itself with the return of peace; but the rule of 1756, now became in England a rule for the future; unless when they saw fit to relax it.—Every naval war, however, renewed and enlarged the dispute, since the general question, whether free ships make free goods, was necessarily brought into agitation.

III. *From the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg, to the death of Frederic the Great.* 1763—1786.

Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten and *vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* 1778—1806; von CHR. WILH. VON DOHM. Lemago, 1814—1819, 8vo. Before the death of the author, five parts were published, which reach to the

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death of Frederic II.—Not a general history; but confined to particular important events. It is compiled in part from the author's own observation, with the most scrupulous accuracy and love of truth. The authorities for particular points are given under the various heads.

63. The late treaties of peace gave the west of Europe a fair right to expect a lasting repose, as the ancient and established order of possessions was again confirmed. Nearly thirty years of uninterrupted peace did indeed succeed, during which no continental war of consequence disturbed the general tranquillity. This period however was characterised by various extraordinary events, which, though rather of a moral than of a strictly political nature, had, by their influence on every grade of society, and on almost every branch of politics, a striking influence in the end upon states and government.

64. Numerous and mighty energies had been developed by the late struggles. War had called forth a spirit of activity which peace could not allay. A kingdom, like Prussia, which had newly raised itself to rank as one of the first states of the European system, could only hope to maintain this distinction by continual exertion, and the manifestation of all its resources. Its rival Austria, on the other hand, dared not remain behind; and this feeling, on both sides, became the mainspring of political exertions. A principal character, however, of the activity now displayed, was the facility with

which the growing intelligence of the age enabled it to employ itself upon a variety and multiplicity of objects unknown to it before; especially upon the mutual relations of men and states, which now began to be understood and appreciated. The general mass of ideas which this mental activity called into existence, was considered by the age as the dawning of a new day, and every government was beset with clamours for the diffusion of its light. Alas! how often was the false dazzle of sophistry regarded as the clear light of truth!

65. Upon the return of peace, the domestic concerns of their states became the natural care of the various governments. The wounds which war had left required to be healed; and the public burdens, which its expenses had entailed upon the people, to be alleviated; a task rendered difficult, as even in peace the standing armies were rather increased than diminished. Finance consequently obtained a continually increasing importance, as the object of all political economy. The disposition of rulers, and the constitutions with which some states were favoured, prevented a general abuse; but the evil was too contagious not to spread rapidly.

66. Closely connected with this was the principle of rendering the administration of the state, as far as possible, a mechanical operation; for thus, it was thought, it could be organised most cheaply and commodiously. Even

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the expression, political machines, became the favourite expression of men in this department. These evils, too, operated slowly, and not every where equally; but the error, that seeks in forms for the happiness of a state, which can only proceed from the free action of free men, the necessary condition of genuine patriotism, was committed and diffused.

67. From these maxims of internal administration, proceeded a struggle for aggrandisement, which, when prevalent, threatened to overthrow the existing political system. The more the division of territory interfered with the mechanical administration of affairs, the greater value was placed on the compactness of possessions; and it is evident to what this mania for compactness, soon the moving spring of the projects of the various cabinets, must necessarily lead. And where could the danger be greater, than in a system composed of such unequal states as that of Europe?

68. Thus the material resources of states gained a more and more exclusive value in the eyes of practical politics; and square miles and population became the measure of prosperity and strength. Never did writers so play, as they then did, into the hands of those who practised; what did not the writers in statistics calculate? And what could be more convenient for men of business? On a single sheet, they thought they had before them the whole state!

Perhaps there is not in the whole range of science, one which has been so much degraded as statistics. Into what a stupid mechanical exercise has it sunk! Does an enumeration of men and cattle,—does a dissection of the body politic, constitute the knowledge of a state? Just as well might the anatomist hope to acquire a knowledge of human nature by the dissection of dead bodies. Affairs of Europe. 1756-1763

69. Although in politics, as in political economy, ancient usage continued to prevail, yet the spirit of reasoning got possession of these subjects, and theories were formed which presented a most striking contrast with the reality. These theories were considered as harmless, because they remained nothing more than theories, and their authors were actuated by no dangerous motives. But do not all human institutions rest fundamentally upon ideas? And are they not endangered when these change?

70. Government and legislation became the prime objects of investigation. Montesquieu first raised them to inportance; but his work, a cri- 1749.
tique rather than a system, taught the world to think, without leading it into error. The case was very different when Rousseau, the most eloquent of all sophists, erected his constitution 1762.
on a foundation, on which no existng one had been based, and on which in reality, no future one could stand. The unalienable sovereignty of the people and a state, are ideas practically contradictory; a state only begins where the exercise of the popular sovereignty has been delegated.

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Locke had some time before acquired celebrity as a political writer; but his theories harmonised with the constitution of his country. Montesquieu, on the contrary, was the eulogist of a foreign, and Rousseau of an ideal constitution, which could have no existence without the previous destruction of the pillars on which the present governments rested.

Two Treatises on Government; or an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government, by J. LOCKE. London, various editions; in his Works, etc.

MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Lois, ou du rapport que les lois doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, etc.* Genev. 1749, 3 vols. 8vo.

[Numerous other editions—translated into English by NUGENT.]

Le contrat social, par J. J. ROUSSEAU. 1762.

These works are examined and compared in:

HEEREN'S *Versuch uber die Entstehung, die Ausbildung und den practischen Einfluss der politischen Theorieen und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neuern Europa. Miscellaneous Historical Writings.* Th. i, 1821. In this treatise is argued the incompatibility of democracy with monarchy.—The best attempt to refute these theories is:

CARL LUDW. VON HALLER *Restauration der Staatswissenschaft, oder Theorie des gesellig natürlichen Zustandes; der Chimaire des künstlich bürgerlichen entgegengesetzt.* In vier Theilen, 1814—1818; the first containing *die Geschichte und Kritik der bisherigen falschen Systeme; und die allgemeinen Grundsätze der entgegengesetzen Ordnung Gottes und der Natur:* the second and third discusses the two classes of monarchies; patrimonial and military states: the fourth, "the most important and difficult part of the whole work," which treats of ecclesiastical states and societies, contains an apology for the Catholic church and popery.

71. These speculations on government were followed by others on political economy. The manifest errors discovered both in the theory

and practice of the mercantile system, laid it open to attack. The advocates of physiocracy, or natural government, who entered upon it, certainly did much, by recalling many great truths into notice, such as the importance of agriculture, the free exercise of every kind of industry and talent, and consequently of trade and commerce. Their example produced other hardy thinkers: without them would Adam Smith have attained to such high perfection? Their system, however, built upon sophistry, and veiled in a new phraseology, became comparatively useless; and its founder, Quesnay, formed a sect of theorists, but no practical statesmen. But, besides enforcing their system of political economy, their doctrines attacked the existing principles of governments, because they led to the establishment of political equality. They appeared, too, the more dangerous, as they did not, like Adam Smith, argue a question of utility, but contended for a right.

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The doctrines of the *physiocrats* rested on the maxim, that the soil is the only source of wealth; for which reason, this wealth ought to be the sole and immediate source of revenue. In their very first position, in which the elements of national wealth are defined, they differ from Adam Smith, since improvement and traffic are sources of wealth, no less than production. Still this difference was of little practical importance, since even the *physiocrats* by no means pretended to deny the indirect gain derived from improvement, (by an increased susceptibility of production.) But the great practical difference rose, partly, from the second position, or the application of the

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first to the method of taxation, partly in the further results of the equality and freedom to which the system of the *physiocrats* necessarily tended, and for which it essentially prepared the public mind.

QUESNAY, *Tableau Economique.* Paris, 1758, 8vo. Extended in:

Physiocratie; ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement; publiée par DUPONT. Yverdun, 1768, 8vo.

V. MAUVILLION *Physiokratische Briefe an Dohm.* Braunschweig, 1780, 8vo. And as example:

Kurze Vorstellung des Physiokratischen Systems nebsteinigen erinnerungen über dasselbe, von C. K. W. DOHM. Cassel, 1778, 8vo.

An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations, by AD. SMITH. Lond. 1776, 2 vols. 4to. Reprinted with notes by M'Culloch, Edinb. 1828, 4 vols. 8vo. The best edition. Without doubt the most acute development of the constituents and sources of national wealth; but for that reason partial. Bolder views will be found in:

AD. MÜLLER *Elemente der Staatskunst.* Berlin, 1809, 3 Thle.

Ueber National Industrie und Staatswirthschaft, nach Ad. Smith bearbeitet, von A. F. LUEDER. 1800, etc. 3 Thle.

It is well known how much the excellent manuals of Sartorius, Jacob, and others, have contributed both to the circulation and elucidation of Adam Smith.

72. Thus it appears that this new system was not the fruit of experience, rising from routine to general views, but of a growing propensity to philosophical speculation, which at the same time directed itself to religion, to morals, and to education; which now amused itself with trifles, now with sophisms; but in whatever shape it appeared, its aim was the profanation of all that is sacred. Voltaire might deride the popular

belief; Diderot, d'Alembert, von Holbach, and their disciples inculcate atheism; and Helvetius change morality into a system of egotism; but however different in other respects, did they not all agree in this particular? Nay, had the great reform in education begun by Rousseau, and extolled as more conformable to nature, any other tendency than the development of the animal passions of man, at the expense of his nobler attributes?

The *Encyclopedie*, whose publication began in 1751, under the superintendence of Diderot, and which promoted so widely the diffusion of superficial knowledge, offered to most of these men a literary point of union. Though their exertions were of a literary and not a political nature, their intolerant sectarian spirit—for is not bitter derision of the opinion of others, intolerance?—was the more insufferable, from their continual talk of liberality.

73. This revolution in the public mind originated in the city, generally regarded as the focus of intellectual culture and taste. Its authors were far from acting so powerfully on foreign countries as on their own; but still how wide has extended the sphere of their influence? If they did not determine the mode of thinking of the nations, they did at least that of the higher class of society. But their influence acquired its greatest force from their being of this class themselves; a circumstance quite peculiar to the age, and one which afforded them an advantage over all preceding writers.

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Of no age is the state of society, and especially the literary part, so necessary to be known as the one under review. The most faithful and lively delineation of it as it existed in Paris, is given in:

Mémoires de Marmontel. 1803, 9 vols. 12mo. An invaluable source of information respecting the learned men of his times.

74. Under these circumstances, public opinion, guided by such writers, obtained a consequence which it would otherwise never have possessed; and those institutions, against which it declared itself, lingered out a very precarious existence. Of this the order of Jesuits gave the first great and signal example. A variety of causes certainly conspired to work their downfal; but these would never have produced so great an effect but for the opposition which grew between their institution and the prevailing spirit of the age. Hence they always found their most violent and obstinate antagonists in the very country where the fraternity reached its highest perfection; and although they were expelled from Portugal somewhat sooner than France, yet the history of their decline and final fall manifestly depends on their relations in the latter country.

The causes which accelerated the fall of the Jesuits were: 1. The controversy with the Jansenists, which had already lasted for a century, public opinion having been first turned against them, 1652, by the *Lettres provinciales* of PASCAL. 2. The political party formed against them at court and in the parliament by the aid of Jansenism, principally by le Tellier, the last confessor of Louis XIV. 3. The still more formidable

opposition of philosophers and literary men, who attacked them with ridicule. 4. The insufficiency and nature of their education, which neither kept pace with the age nor was directed to the objects in which it took most interest. 5. Their lax morals, (however much they insisted on external decency;) and the accusation of having justified the murder of the king, and the criminal attempts laid to their charge. 6. Their neglect of science, and the total absence of scientific reputation, which was perhaps in this age their only resource. The whole spirit of their institution prevented them from keeping up with the intellectual march of the age beyond a certain point, (see vol. i, p. 77.); but they manifestly remained behind further than was necessary.

75. It only required therefore a few collisions with individual potentates, and the partial suppressions by which these were followed, to prepare the way for the total suppression of this society. These were begun first in Portugal by the powerful Pombal; then in France, Spain, Naples, and Parma; and in two years they were driven from all these countries.

Suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal, Sept. 3, 1759, after having been banished from the court, and their possessions confiscated. They were in every way an obstacle in the path of a reformer like Pombal.—Their fall in France was effected Nov. 1764, by Choiseul and Pompadour. Their lawsuit with the Lioncys, begun by Lavalette, 1755, only gave the public and parliament an opportunity of showing their aversion to them. They were banished from Spain, April 2, 1767, (soon after from Naples, Jan. 1768, and from Parma, in Feb.) by Aranda and Compomanes, who regarded them as their enemies.

D'ALEMBERT *sur la déstruction des Jesuites en France.* 1765, 8vo. (Œuvres, tom. v.)

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

Lettere sulle cagioni della expulsione de' Gesuiti di Spagna. 1768.

C. G. VON MURR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal unter Pombal.* Nurnberg, 1787, 2 vols. 8vo.

76. Amid all these misfortunes, the Jesuits, as their order could only be dissolved by the pope, found a powerful support in Clement XIII. as long as he lived, although his obstinacy and
1768. violence, especially in the contest with Parma, not only injured them, but in general compromised the papal power, and embittered all the catholic courts. The suppression of the society was so firmly determined on at those of the Bourbons, that even the change of ministers in France, after the fall of Choiseul, produced no alteration. Thus Clemens XIV. (Ganganelli) was finally compelled to take the step, of which he well foresaw the consequences for himself
July 21, 1773. and the Roman see. By the brief *Dominus et redemptor noster*, the order was abolished.

Besides the works quoted in the first volume, see *Vita de Clemente XIV. Ganganelli per il* SIG. MARCHESE CARACCIOLI. Firenze, 1776, 8vo. The rare Franciscan deserves a better biography.

77. The fall of the order of the Jesuits was considered as a triumph of philosophy. But though all may agree respecting the pernicious nature of this institution, its overthrow was prosecuted in a spirit which is rarely beneficial to society. The great political influence of the

order had passed away; and it would be absurd to believe that it was any longer able to rule those great events which involved the interests of the world. But with it was overthrown a principal pillar of the Roman hierarchy, and where so much was tottering, it was easy to foresee that more would soon fall. What a gap, too, it must suddenly have left in the catholic world! The total abolition of great institutions is always dangerous, even when they are degenerate; and it will ever remain a problem for history, whether the reaction caused by the suppression of the order, was not even more hurtful than its continuation would have been, limited by reform.

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

78. During these transactions, the west of Europe enjoyed the happy repose which the friendly treaty between Austria and Prussia, favoured as it was by the state of affairs in the north, had re-established. At the same time, however, the policy there ripened in the interior of the cabinets that desire of aggrandisement and compactness of territory, which, originating chiefly in the scattered state of the Prussian dominions, found such loud advocates in the wants and internal administration of the kingdoms, that it soon came to be considered as the ruling principle of politics. The first fruit of this policy, which astonished all Europe, was the first partition of Poland. What further proof could be wanting, to show to what a wretched condition

1770.

1772.

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1766.

a political injustice such as this, must ultimately bring the federative system of modern Europe?

[See the history of the first partition of Poland in the section respecting the north.]

79. The partition of Poland itself, however, was not so dangerous as the application of this principle to the German empire; upon which the preservation of the whole European system seemed to depend. And yet this very country, from its internal piecemeal state, offered the greatest excitements to the powerful to follow the example which the division of Poland had set them.

80. Its consequences were soon visible, now that Joseph II. became, not only in name but in deed, the colleague of his mother. This emperor may be called, in the fullest sense of the word, the child of the age, for in him its vices and virtues were faithfully personified. Insatiable of information, he possessed great and various abilities; of restless activity, and therefore fertile in projects. Often unreasonable, and careless of justice. In the prime of youth and full of ambition, he was desirous of acquiring a name. What had not Europe to fear from such a character, even where his intentions appeared good? Where could the prevailing disease of cabinet policy, the passion for the compactness of states, be more likely to take effect than on such a character as this?

81. Examples of this system were exhibited in the seizure of Bukowina, and similar steps were meditated in Italy. But it was soon introduced into Germany itself, where Bavaria, from its situation, seemed likely to become an easy prey. The approaching extinction of the electoral line, led the emperor to project the annexation of this state to the Austrian dominions, and this most vicious project had the most lasting result. Even before it became actually extinct, the rightful successor was gained over and induced to enter into a compact. But the speedy occupation of Bavaria was still more revolting than the compact itself. 1777.

Extinction of the electoral house of Bavaria with the elector Maximilian Joseph, Dec. 30, 1777, and succession of Charles Theodore, elector of the Palatinate, as the head of the elder Wittelsbachian line. But a compact was made with him, Jan. 3, 1778, at Vienna, and all Lower Bavaria was occupied by Austrian troops.

82. Hazardous as these steps were, they appeared to be favoured by the situation of Europe; France, now connected with Austria by the marriage of the heir apparent with Maria Antionette, without any particular views on the continent, plunged, to please America, into a naval war; Russia sought to aggrandise herself at the expense of the Turks, and a war seemed highly probable. England, engaged in a colonial war, comes not at all into consideration. Prussia, therefore, alone remained. 1770.

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

83. From this quarter a powerful opposition was to be expected. The fall of Bavaria was also the fall of the whole political system of Frederic II. It led unavoidable to the destruction of the constitution of the German empire; its forms could hardly have survived. The further consequences of this step were very evident: consequently Frederic, by having recourse to arms, not only protected Bavaria, but himself, and what he had already fought for.

84. Frederic's self-denial, nevertheless, afforded a proof, that there existed in European policy a higher principle than sheer egotism. Where will a more striking example of pure disinterestedness be found, and of a spirit raised above the prejudices of the age, than his conduct evinced when the opportunity was offered him of enlarging and connecting his own dominions? Contrary to the usual course of events, it was decreed, that the war which now broke out should close without bloodshed. Maria Theresa feared for the repose of her old age and the welfare of her son, and Frederic desired not to tempt fortune again. The mediation of France and Russia, especially the latter, who, as her war with the Turks was concluded, threatened to become more than a mediator, moderated the demands of hostile powers; and the war was terminated by the peace of Teschen; not however without Joseph's retaining a portion of his booty.

The protestation of the duke of Deux Ponts, as next of kin, against the compact of Vienna; claims of the electorate of Saxony to the allodial succession; and of Mecklenburg, to Leuchtenberg, supported by Frederic. Unsuccessful negotiations, and Bohemia invaded by Frederic, prince Henry, and the Saxons, July 4, 1778, who were not, however, able to drive the Austrians from their strong position along the upper Elbe.—In the mean time, an autograph correspondence commenced by Maria Theresa, and a congress held, soon after, at Teschen, under French and Russian mediation; truce, March 7, and peace, May 13, 1779. Conditions: 1. Austria obtained the part of Lower Bavaria between the Inn, the Salza, and the Danube; in consideration of the abolition of the convention of Vienna. 2. She promised not to oppose the future union of the Margravates of Anspach and Baireuth with the Prussian monarchy. 3. Saxony received, in instalments, six million dollars; and Mecklenburg, the privilege *de non appellando*. The conditions were guaranteed by France and Russia, and the empire acceded to them.

The ambassadors to Teschen were: from Austria, count J. Phil. Cobenzel; from Prussia, baron von Riedesel; from the electorate of Saxony, count von Zinzendorf. As mediators: from France, baron de Breteuil; from Russia, prince Repuin.

Mémoire historique de la négociation en 1778, *pour la succession de Baviére, confiée par le Roi de Prusse Fréderic le Grand au compte Eustathe de Goertz.* à Francfort, 1812, 8vo. The principal authority. From this work is drawn the greater part of the information in DOHM's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i. Whoever has a taste for diplomatic greatness, may here be gratified.

Œuvres posthumes de FRÉDERIC II., tom. v. To this narration, the correspondence between Frederic, Maria Theresa, and Joseph is annexed. How inferior Joseph here appears to the great king and to his own noble mother.

Collection of Prussian documents in:

Recueil de déductions, Manifestes, etc. qui ont été redigés

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

et publiés par le COMTE DE HERZBERG, (see above,) *depuis* 1778, *jusqu' à* 1789. Berlin, 1789, tom. 2.

85. The peace of Teschen put an end to hostilities, but not to irritation, (of which advantage might easily be taken by foreign powers;) for the *acquisition* of Bavaria, (with a new policy new names also came in vogue,) remained the favourite project of the Austrian cabinet. In what cabinet, whether great or small, did not similar wishes at this time spring up? The

Nov. 29, 1780.

death of Maria Theresa, which left Joseph II. sole ruler, left him at liberty to act as he pleased; and not only in the great domestic changes which took place, especially those relating to the

March, 1782.

church, which Pius VI. sought to avert by a personal journey to Vienna, but also in his foreign policy, he evinced that reckless desire of aggrandisement, particularly in the German empire, and that contempt for existing treaties, of which his conduct towards the Dutch, respecting the demolishing of the frontier fortifications, as well as the still more important one respecting the opening of the Scheldt, afford such striking examples.

Arbitrary renunciation of the barrier-treaty, Nov. 7, 1781. —The opening of the Scheldt, the fortress of Mastricht and twelve others demanded May 4, 1784; acts of violence immediately followed. Treaty of Versailles concluded through the intervention of France, Nov. 8, 1785, by which Joseph gives up his claims for ten million guilders!

V. DOHM *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. ii, contains a minute account of both transactions.

86. The state of the west of Europe facilitated these enterprises of Joseph. England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, had just concluded the war respecting North America, and stood in need of repose. By the treaty of Versailles, which closed that war, no alteration had been made in the European possessions; and the harmony between England and France seemed even more perfect than before the war. A commercial treaty was concluded between them; and the only object which seemed at all likely to lead to a future misunderstanding was the Dutch republic, which France had attached to her interests by the great services she had rendered it by her friendly mediation both with England and Austria. Some jealousy, too, was excited by the treaty of commerce, which was much to the advantage of England.

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

Jan. 20, 1783.

Sept. 26, 1786.

(See the history of the colonial war, in the section on the colonies.)

87. Under these circumstances, Joseph II. thought it possible to execute his darling scheme on Bavaria by an exchange. Under the name of the kingdom of Burgundy, the elector was to have the greater portion of the Austrian Netherlands, with several limitations, however, and in return he was to resign to Austria all Bavaria, with the Upper Palatinate. This project must have been some time in agitation, as Joseph had not only made sure of the elector, but had also

Affairs of Europe. 1763-1786.

gained over Russia by a new alliance. France appeared to remain indifferent.

Proposals for an exchange made at Munich by the count von Lehrbach; and in Deux Ponts, with the heir presumptive, by the Russian minister, count Romanzow, who allowed but eight days for consideration, Jan. 1785.

Erklarung der Ursachen, welche Se. Preussische Majestät bewogen haben, ihren Mitständen eine Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems anzutragen; in Herzberg Recueil de déductions, etc. depuis, 1758, tom. ii.

88. Thus Frederic, on the verge of the grave, again saw his system endangered. He did not, however, again unsheath the sword; but there is hardly any portion of his glorious career, in which his character appears to more advantage than in the present. He never before so clearly and loudly proclaimed the great importance both to Germany and the whole European system, of the preservation of the German constitution. From this time, the whole was based on a strong foundation,—on a German federate system, of which Prussia was the centre. Thus he formed, in unison with his successor, an association of the German princes, which was held together by their common and permanent interest. This was his last day's work—tranquil now with regard to the future, he was gathered to his fathers in peace.

Aug. 17, 1786.

The German confederation concluded at Berlin, first with the elector of Saxony, and, advances being made to England, (for the old man conquered even his long cherished dislike,) with the elector of Brunswick, July 23, 1785, for the common

defence of the German constitution. To it the collateral lines of the three electoral houses, and Mentz, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt acceded. Affairs of Europe. 1763-8787.

Darstellung des Fürstenbundes, (von JOH. VON MÜLLER,) 1787. Containing infinitely more information than the title seems to promise.

Ueber die Deutschen Fürstenbund, von CHR. WILH. VON DOHM. 1785, 8vo. Principally a confutation of the writings printed with it.

Ueber den königliche Preussische Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems, von OTTO VON GEMMINGEN. 1785.

The most acute, copious, and accurate account of the whole transaction is given in the *Mémoires*, vol. iii, of VON DOHM, who was himself employed in the transaction.

II. *Cursory view of the internal changes which took place during this period in the more powerful states of the West of Europe, and their consequences;* 1740—1786.

1. Though no great or sudden revolutions took place during this period in the government of any of the chief states of the west of Europe, yet in nearly all of them a state of things was brought about which was likely to lead to them.

I. PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

2. In Portugal the experiment was tried how far a nation may be reformed, by well-intended compulsion on the part of the government. John V. being succeeded in the royal Portugal and Spain.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Portugal and Spain. 1750-1777.

dignity by his son, Jos. Emanuel, the latter, resigned the helm of state to the count of Oeyras, Carvalho, marquis of Pombal. No minister besides, ever attempted so general a reform, and executed it so violently as Pombal. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the military department, instruction, were all to be modelled anew. All that stood in the way, the higher nobility and the Jesuits, were got rid of; and yet after the lapse of twenty-seven years of exertion, things were not the same in Portugal, as Pombal had seen them in Germany and England. No traces of his reforms, not even in the military department, appear to have remained; nothing but the example, if any was needed, that institutions established by force will fall when the force is taken away.

Much has been written respecting Pombal; but all either for or against him. Among the first is:

L'administration de Sebast. Jos. de Carvalho, Comte d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal. Amsterdam, 1788, 4 vols. 8vo. Valuable for the *pièces justificatives.*

Among the works against him:

Memoirs of the Court of Portugal, and of the Administration of the Count d'Oeyras. Lond. 1767, 8vo.

Vida di Sebast. Guis. Marchese di Pombal, Conte d'Oeyras. 1781, 4 vols. 8vo.

The collection of his laws, which no writer has used:

Collecçao das Leyes, Decretos e Alvaras, del Rey Fidelissimo Don Jozéo I. desde o anno 1750 *até o de* 1759. Lisboa, 1767, 2 vols. fol.

3. In Spain, the maxims of government

changed with the rulers; Ferdinand VI. pursued a different policy from his father; and his half-brother Charles III. again adopted a new course; yet no important revolution was made in the constitution. The change which had taken place in the relations of the court with the see of Rome, and the suppression of the order of Jesuits, were striking proofs that the Pyrenees had not altogether prevented the entrance of new ideas. The reign of Charles III. is distinguished for enlightened ministers. To Aranda and Campomanes, succeeded Florida Blanca; and many wise regulations, both for the mother country and her colonies, mark their administrations. But on the great mass of the nation and on its character, this had little effect. Its principal features were too deeply impressed to be easily effaced.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786.

Portugal and Spain. 1746. 1759.

1766.

1773.

J. F. BOURGOING, *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne, ou tableau de l'état de cette Monarchie*, à Paris, 1788, 3 vols. 8vo. Third edition, 1803. The best work for information respecting Spain as it then was.

W. COXE, *Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III.*, 1700 *to* 1788. Lond. 1815, 5 vols. 8vo. The principal work for the court and diplomatic history of Spain during this period, and mostly drawn from official information.

II. FRANCE.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. France.

4. France manifested all the symptoms which weak and unfortunate rulers usually bring upon a state. The ineptitude of Louis XV. is sufficiently known; but a concurrence of circumstances, such as is rarely to be found in a state, combined to produce here that internal disorganisation whose consequences it was impossible to foresee.

Mémoires du Maréchal de Richelieu. 1790—1793, 9 vols. 8vo. Compiled from the papers of the French Alcibiades, by SOULAVIE. They comprise the long period of 1710—1774. Replete with interesting information, they give a picture of the sinking French monarchy, in almost all its details. Would that the publisher had not given it a tint of the revolutionary spirit of the age.

To this class belong also, the:

Mémoires secretes de Louis XIV., de la regence, et de Louis XV. par J. DUCLOS. (in his *Œuvres*, vols. vi, vii.) Paris, 1790.

5. The ancient cause of dispute raised by the Jansenists and the bull Unigenitus, still continued; and the acceptance or non-acceptance of that bull led to a real ecclesiastical schism, which on account of its unavoidable reaction on the great mass of the people, must have been
1753. highly critical: it gave occasion to the most scandalous scenes.

6. But it was still more critical by the influence which it had upon the parliament, and by

the opposition which these manifested. The pretensions of these assemblies in France, were not perhaps supported by history, but they were considered by the nation as the last prop of liberty, as there was no longer any convention of the States-general. The dubious nature of this opposition rendered it more hurtful than a legitimate one, as it drove the government to violent measures, which it was without ability to execute. The repeated exile of the parliament terminated with their triumph. Their final suppression was regarded as an act of pure despotism; and how hazardous their re-establishment was by Louis XVI., has been shown by the result.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. France. 1753. 1763. 1771. 1774.

7. These disputes were the more dangerous, because they were periodically renewed: but they were nothing compared with the danger produced by the alliance with Austria, which became firmly cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with Maria Antoinette. By this measure the ruling dynasty sacrificed the character of the nation, and took the first step towards its downfal. Like the Stuarts of England, in former times, it set itself in opposition to the nation; and the long series of unfortunate consequences, the insignificance to which it reduced the nation in the political system of Europe, which daily became more apparent, and which Vergennes during his ministry was unable to conceal, necessarily widened the breach in proportion as the national pride was wounded.

May 16, 1770. 1774-1787.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. France.

8. In addition to this, the finances were in such a wretched state of disorder as left no hope of their thorough re-establishment, without such measures as might endanger the stability of the government. Since the death of Fleury the empire of mistresses had prevented the organisation of any effective ministry. And when under Louis XVI., the finance was placed un-
1777-1781. der the control of Necker, it was at once evident that mere frugality would be productive of as little benefit, as the highly unseasonable experiment of publicity had been. The abolition
1780. of the privileges of the nobility was perhaps the only resource; but was not even this an attack upon the constitution?

Compte rendu au Roi par M. NECKER. Paris, 1781, 8vo.

9. Thus France presented the image of an absolute monarchy, which, at variance with the nation, found itself entangled in embarrassments, from which it could only extricate itself by concessions; whilst these very remedies inflamed the long growing hatred of the nation towards the privileged orders. What a situation! There is only the mere chance that bold and decided measures on the part of the government might have been successful; what then could mere honesty effect, supported by no extrinsic talent, and united with weakness?

III. GREAT BRITAIN.

10. If we should judge of the revolutions made in this state during this period, by the changes in its constitution, scarcely any thing would be found deserving notice. But though the forms of government remained the same, the spirit was greatly changed; especially after the termination of the seven years' war. Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Great Britain.

11. The power of the crown in the interior increased with the power and greatness of the state abroad. The constitution fixes the formal power of a government; circumstances, the real. After wars so victoriously prosecuted, amid a continual increase of national prosperity, attachment to the constitution and government was natural. What government would not have become more powerful under such circumstances?

12. In England, this showed itself by the increasing predominance of the crown in parliament. The practical peculiarity of British freedom consists in this, that the parliament has not to fear a struggle with the crown, but the crown a struggle with the parliament. This compels ministers to use every exertion to acquire and maintain a majority, and obliges them to resign when they fail in doing so. In this respect Walpole's administration forms an epoch, as he was the first minister who held office for more 1721-1742.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Great Britain.

than twenty years, by preserving always a majority. He is accused of having done so by corruption. But though no one doubts this to have existed among the electors, there is much uncertainty with respect to the elected. No doubt, the temptation is great for a minister to obtain a majority by any means in his power; but what must that nation at last have become, whose representatives were nothing more than a herd of men for sale.

13. The increasing influence of the crown, however, led to the idea of a reform; which, it was thought, might be effected by an improved national representation. Several of the greatest men, among others the two Pitts, were inclined to it at first; but neglected it when they came into power. Thus the time of tranquillity escaped, and times of commotion are not adapted for such experiments! Should it ever take place without an entire revolution, is there any thing like certainty that the choice will fall on worthier persons?—Yet perhaps this is the rock on which the constitution of Great Britain will one day be wrecked.

LORD SELKIRK, *on Parliamentary Reform.* A highly instructive essay.

14. One striking peculiarity in the British constitution is the extent to which its stability seems gradually to have become dependent upon public credit. By the rise of the funding system the money affairs of the government became

connected with those of the nation; and, as nearly all the money was borrowed within the kingdom, in proportion as the national debt increased, so did the monied interest of the government and the nation become more firmly knit together. Every thing that affected public credit naturally affected the funding system; and with the fall of the latter, the government must have become powerless. Thus this system forms the strongest buttress of the government. Besides, in proportion as the national debt grew larger and larger, the preservation of the government required that the national prosperity should go on increasing; and no other government ever found itself so imperiously called upon to promote the welfare of its people. It was, however, long ago discovered that, though under no engagement to pay off the capital, there is a point beyond which even the interest could not be raised; a discovery which naturally gave rise to fear for the national credit. This fear was allayed by the establishment of the celebrated sinking fund by William Pitt, which, by seeming to provide for the payment of the debt, effected the principal object, the security of public credit.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Great Britain.

1786.

The funded debt of Great Britain, at the beginning of this period, 1739, was something more than fifty-four million pounds. The Austrian war of succession increased it to seventy-eight, the seven years' war to one hundred and forty-six, the colonial war to two hundred and fifty-seven millions. The former expedients adopted to reduce it, the ancient sinking fund, established 1717, and some payments in peace, had

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Great Britain.

done but little. Pitt's new sinking fund was established May 26, 1786, according to the calculation of Price; but only to liquidate the debt then due; by the bill of Feb. 17, 1792, however, a separate sinking fund of one per cent. was decreed for every new loan. Thus the stock, since government is always its purchaser, maintains nearly always the same value, however chimerical may be the calculations respecting the entire payment of the national debt, so long as new loans are constantly made.

Essai sur l'etat actuel de l'administration des finances et de la dette nationale de la Grande Bretagne, par FR. GENTZ. Londres, 1800, 8vo.

15. While the government, public credit, and national prosperity, were thus closely interwoven with each other, Great Britain could not but acquire an internal stability, quite the reverse of what had lately existed in France. The increase, too, of the national prosperity seemed the more secure, as it did not so much depend upon foreign trade as upon domestic culture, industry, and traffic, all of which had wonderfully improved since the seven years' war, and had been greatly promoted by canals and other public works. Still, after all, the state of a government whose existence depends on a continual and increasing prosperity, must be in the highest degree dangerous. To what expedients may it give rise!

IV. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

16. An important revolution took place in the government of this republic, soon after the commencement of this period, by the introduction of hereditary stadtholders over all the provinces. This happened in consequence of a threatened invasion of Dutch Brabant by the French, which gave rise to a revolution of the people in favour of William IV., already statdtholder of Friesland, Groningen, and Guelderland, and who was descended from the younger branch of the house of Orange. This certainly occasioned a change, but by no means an improvement in the government. Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. United Netherlands. April 1747.

17. One party only conquered; the other was subdued but not annihilated. The victorious believed the country strengthened by the increased power of the hereditary stadholder, which to the conquered appeared the yoke of tyranny. This, however, was not the means of restoring the declining republic to its former vigour—whether this was at all possible is another question. It may also be observed, that the new house of Orange was not so fruitful in great men as the ancient one.

18. The family connections of the new hereditary stadtholder acquired also a high political importance. Related by blood with the present

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. United Netherlands.

royal family of England, the Orange party drew their chief support from this country; while commercial jealousy, and especially the maritime power of the English during the seven years' war, had formed a strong anti-English party, particularly in the great commercial cities. The early death of William IV. greatly strengthened these relations; but the subse-
1767. quent marriage of his son and successor, William V., with a Prussian princess, was still more important from its consequences.

After the early death of William IV., Oct. 22, 1751, Anna, his widow, daughter of George II., acted as guardian to her minor son, William V., assisted by field-marshal prince Louis of Brunswick, who after her death, Jan. 12, 1759, exercised the office alone, and retained a strong legitimate influence even after the majority of the prince, 1766.

19. Thus this state, apparently in its vigour, was undermined by domestic misfortunes, and only required an external shock to bring it to its last struggle. This shock was given it by
1781. the war with England, which deprived it of what was left of its political importance; took from it its colonies and commerce; and left it a prey to factions, which in the following period worked its ruin.

V. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

German Empire.

20. In this period, the German empire underwent the most important revolutions, not indeed in the form of its constitution, but in its in-

ternal relations. The Austrian war of succession plunged it in civil dissensions; and notwithstanding that Bavaria was reinstated at the peace in her ancient situation, and the imperial crown again annexed to the house of Austria, yet by the treaty of Breslau, Prussia was placed in a new and permanent relation towards the empire.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. German Empire.

21. The conquest of Silesia broke off the ancient and friendly alliance between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg; and the new and hostile attitude which Frederic assumed towards Austria, practically annihilated the unity of the German body, although its form still continued. A general union for the attainment of any particular object, a general war of the empire, seemed scarcely practicable, while one of its members stood at the peace as the opponent and rival of the emperor. Yet the empire not only survived, but, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and Hubertsburg, entered upon the happiest days of its existence.

22. This, at the first glance, appears one of the most striking occurrences in history; but it arose from a variety of causes which render it not difficult to explain. The first, without doubt, was the alliance of Austria and France. There could be no secure peace in Germany while these two powers remained rivals; for as it was the usual theatre of their wars, it is difficult to conceive how they could have engaged in any in

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. German Empire.

which the empire could help being entangled. With this alliance, therefore, the ancient danger disappeared, and security was re-established. At Ratisbon, Kaunitz and Pompadour deserved a monument!

23. The second cause, is to be found in the situation of Frederic, which compelled him to maintain the German body corporate, as its fall would have been the aggrandisement of Austria. What, therefore, had the other states to fear from him, even with his wildest schemes for the extension of his own dominions. Thus a combination of circumstances assured the security of the empire; nevertheless, that it was in reality dependent upon these political relations alone, scarcely any one would acknowledge, after reflecting on their mutability.

24. Frederic's long reign gave permanence to this state of things in Germany, which now, for the first time enjoyed a thirty years' repose. On her wide plains, where had so often been fought the battles of Europe, the arts of peace were at length suffered to ripen. The various blessings of a free federative government, now favoured by circumstances, gradually unfolded themselves; and states of the second and third magnitude, even down to the free cities, acquired their full importance; each government assuming its own proper character.

25. Amid this political diversity, civilisation advanced in Germany, with such force, rapidity,

and variety, as had never before been equalled; the scientific, however, generally had the start of the beautiful. The literature of the Germans was peculiarly their own work, as it did not, as is usual, descend from the upper ranks downwards, but sprung from the nation itself. It has grown, as it were, with its growth; and forms so essentially a constituent part of its character, that it never can be separated from it. Contemporary changes. 1740-1776. German Empire.

26. While the progressive advance of its language and literature united the nation, the political bond, which should have held all together, continued to grow weaker. The emperor enjoyed little more than his direct influence, and what political writer out of Austria would have dared to recommend an enlargement of the power of that sovereign? The season of tranquillity is the time for reforms; but it was not possible to reform even the tribunals of the empire; and under the existing relations of Austria and Prussia, how were greater ones possible? Melancholy fate of nations! The corruption of their constitutions springs from their prosperity; and those who ought to take the lead in improvements are generally the most interested in the corruption. 1776.

VI. PRUSSIA.

27. The Prussian monarchy, raised by Frederic II. to a station among the leading powers, was almost doubled in extent and population; but Prussia.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Prussia.

the basis of its internal organisation, established by his father, and with it the character of the state, remained essentially unchanged. Frederic enlarged and improved, but he overthrew none of the ancient fundamental institutions.

28. The government of this state, with the exception of two secondary provinces, is not constitutional as the German generally are, but purely autocratic. Is it this, or the various restraints it imposes, that makes it so little beloved in foreign countries, however highly it may be extolled? Still the autocracy was much modified; and its arbitrary character was much softened, as the government of most of the provinces was deputed to colleges, and not to individuals.

29. By the great increase of the army, economy was forced upon the government, especially as the accumulation of a treasury from the surplus of the *Etats* was one of Frederic's maxims. Great institutions, therefore, which depend on a liberal expenditure, could scarcely flourish here; but in all other respects, so far as compatible with absolute power, the government was noble and excellent. The laws were just, and duly administered; agriculture was protected and encouraged; the liberty of the press and of speech was almost as entire as in the most free republics; and its beneficial consequences were the greater, as Prussia became, in this respect, the pattern of other governments.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Prussia.

30. In a state, composed of parts, gradually brought together, this unity of government compensated for the want of unity of nation and territory. Frederic's personal industry and method, to which history can offer no parallel, formed the mainspring of the whole administration. Perfectly master of himself, he was always at his post; and the dawning light generally found the duties of the day already done. It is impossible to contemplate this extraordinary man, who thus exhibited for nearly half a century the brightest example of a high-minded performance of duty, without feelings of reverence and admiration. Who needs so little as he, to fear censure? His very failings sprang from his greatness; but they re-acted no less powerfully on the state and on the nation.

31. Frederic never confounded himself with his people. To them, only the ruler belonged; the man, to a small circle of foreigners. This division produced the most important consequences.—By it he threw a shade over his own nation; a misfortune, an irreparable misfortune for both! The nation lost the respect it deserved; the king remained behind his people and the spirit of the age. Must we not attribute it to this, that the important changes, especially in the rights and relations of the various orders of the state, so loudly demanded by the spirit of the age, remained entirely out of his plan?

32. The strength of a state, which properly

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Prussia.

lies in the nation and government, Frederic only saw in his army and his treasure. "On it rests the state, like the world on the shoulders of Atlas." He sought to realise his *ideal* of a standing army, by making it, as far as possible, a mere machine. He never admitted that there even exists here a boundary line, beyond which men cannot go without offending nature. Nowhere, therefore, has the wall of partition between the civil and military classes been so strong as in the Prussian monarchy. Never has internal weakness been more completely concealed under the semblance of external strength.

33. The greatest misfortune which sprung from the personal government of Frederic, was the application of it as a principle to the civil administration. Who can deny the truth of this? Where can there be found in a state, in which the chief minister is little more than head clerk, scope for the talents and action of superior abilities and genius? Where a practical school for their formation and growth? How much was the activity of the subordinate offices repressed by forms! But although Frederic's government extended this principle, its foundation had been laid by the organisation introduced by his father.

If we examine what is meant by the conversion of the state into a machine, (see p. 43,) by state must be understood neither the nation, nor even the whole retinue of public servants;

but the administration, and the executive authorities. These must be regulated so that all their efforts may be directed to the fulfilment of one principal object; but this is perfectly consistent with freedom of action, and is far removed from that species of administration which would effect all by forms, and bind every thing to forms.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Prussia.

Ueber die Staatsverwaltung deutscher Länder, und die Dienerschaft des Regenten, von AUG. WILH. REHBERG. Hanover, 1807, 8vo.

34. By this immediate government of the prince, the welfare of the state was necessarily bound in a high degree to his person. Frederic, sufficient of himself, had no council of state; the principal means in an hereditary autocracy of making the spirit of a ruler survive him. He alone constituted his cabinet. Not every one was as competent to do so as he; and what pernicious consequences may spring from the collisions of the higher authorities, has been shown by later experience.

De la Monarchie Prussienne sous Fréderic le grand; par le COMTE DE MIRABEAU. Londres, 1788, 7 vols. 8vo. (The two last parts consist of an appendix respecting Austria, Saxony, and Bavaria.) Inaccuracies may esaily be discovered in this work, but how few states can boast of such a spirited delineation?—Did those who make statistics to consist of tables never suspect what a lesson they might learn here?

VON DOHM, *Dentwürdigkeiten*, (see above p. 41.) The fourth volume is wholly devoted to a sketch of Frederic's character. By far the best.

VII. AUSTRIA.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Austria.

35. Respecting no one of the great states of Europe is it more difficult to form a general opinion than of Austria, not only because it has so little that is general, but because even that is enveloped in obscurity. Statistical tables exhibit, with sufficient exactness, its superficial resources, both in population and cattle; but these accounts are deficient as to the finances. What satisfactory information do they give us of the internal spirit, or even of the course of the administration?

36. With the house of Lorraine a new family was seated on the throne, widely different from that of Hapsburg. Spanish etiquette, together with many of the ancient maxims of government disappeared. Little change, however, was made in the great internal relations of the monarchy, though much was at times attempted.

37. Among these, the connection between Hungary and Austria was indubitably the most important. Hungary, in fact the chief country of the monarchy, was treated like a conquered province; subjected to the most oppressive commercial restraints, it was regarded as a colony, from which Austria exacted what she could for her own advantage. The injurious consequences

of this internal discord are evident: it depends on circumstances how far they may become dangerous; but all attempts at a radical change have hitherto been in vain.

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Austria.

Ungarns' Industrie und Commerz von GEORG. VON BERZEVICZV. Weimar, 1802. An excellent exposition of the commercial relations of Hungary, conformably to the maxims of an enlightened political economy. Happy would it have been, if the internal relations of this fine country had presented no greater obstacles to its prosperity than its external. Poland has sufficiently shown how a state, notwithstanding all its patriotism, may become the victim of its constitution?

38. To this may be added the evils caused by the abuse of paper money. No one of the leading states of Europe has suffered so long and so severely on this account; but the causes of these evils, brought to maturity by the full formation of the mercantile system, unfortunately lay too deep to be removed by mere regulations. They had their origin in the establishment of the bank of Vienna, which appears to have been designed for a money machine; but although at particular periods it probably might be of service, yet great foreign wars, which could only be carried on with specie, brought with them new wants, new embarrassments and troubles.

1703.

FR. NICOLAI, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz.* 1783, 12 vols. 8vo. The leading source for Austrian statistics of that time, and the only one for the history of the bank of Vienna.

39. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, this

Contemporary changes. 1740-1786. Austria.

monarchy offered immense resources to the prince who knew how to govern it aright. And how easy this is, to any one who respects the rights of his subjects, and wishes not to rule as a despot, is exemplified in the reign of Maria Theresa, whose greatness consisted far more in her virtues than in her talents, and whose praise is still the theme of all the nations she governed. Unhappily the new maxims of government introduced by Joseph II., were exactly the reverse. With too little energy to effect a violent reform, too impatient to produce a gradual one, and too open to conceal his projects, he stirred up opposition in every quarter, while he believed he was establishing all in the best manner possible. What might not have been the result, had a longer life and more stability allowed him to
1790. persevere in his designs! As it was, he left his dominions either in open rebellion, or on the point of becoming so.

VIII. THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

Turkish empire.

40. The Porte, having sunk into a defensive position, and only on compulsion taking part in the affairs of the North, was no longer an object of dread, but rather, the mark towards which the desire of aggrandisement was directed. Its political importance, as respects Europe, had thus undergone a complete change. Writers,

too, exposed its internal weakness; but by forming their judgments according to an European standard, they ran, in many cases, into error. Contemporary changes. 1740-1786.

Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares, par le BARON DE TOTT. 1785, 4 vols.

41. The course and character of politics in this period, may be gathered from the foregoing sketch. Most of the great relations of the continent, were controlled by Frederic II. The part he played was that of a conqueror, ambitious but considerate. He owed it to himself and his kingdom, to maintain the system established by the conquest of Silesia; still this system was at first founded in pure selfishness. The alliance of Austria and France, however, raised him to the rank of protector of European liberty. Who else could have secured it? On the preservation of the Prussian monarchy, therefore, depended the balance of power, not only in Germany, so long as that alliance continued, but in all Europe. In this sense Frederic was called, and was in fact, the arbiter of Europe. Would that he had kept strictly to this glorious character! General Remarks.

42. The bad direction given to politics by the cabinet plans for the aggrandisement, and the compact formation of their states, has been already pointed out; yet the magnanimity of the rulers prevented their degenerating below a cer-

General Remarks. 1740-1748.

tain point. There might be much selfishness in the policy of Frederic and Catharine, but nothing little or mean; even their selfishness led to a certain degree of stability. Rulers however magnanimous die, though not the love of aggrandisement; and experience has unhappily proved, that even the virtues and moral dignity of sovereigns, may sink under the corruption of cabinets.

Turkish empire.

43. Much alarm, too, was necessarily excited by the levity with which some of the greatest potentates of Europe at once set at nought the fundamental principles of European policy. Catherine led the way, by attacking the balance of power. She might have had reasons for this proceeding, but what appeared simple in her, was contemptible in her numerous imitators. Two systems were likewise introduced into politics during this period, which could not but have a baneful effect. The first of these, was the common practice of making secret articles in public treaties, (the bane of all confidence in a political system); and the other, was the abuse of guarantees. What are the guarantees offered by great powers, in general, but one sword more placed in their hands to be used at their pleasure? And how entirely so, when, as in the case of Poland, they guarantee their own acts of injustice?

44. Practical political economy, though variously modified in particulars, upon the whole re-

mained the same, notwithstanding the rise of many heterogeneous theories. The general land-tax of the *physiocrats* was favourably received; but it was found impracticable to make this the only tax; and if the doctrines of Adam Smith could not prevail even in England, how could it be expected they should do so in foreign countries? The narrow views of Frederic II., a consequence of the mercantile system, and the still narrower ones of Joseph, were powerful obstacles. It was, nevertheless, a great step for society in general, that agriculture, and with it the lower orders of the community, obtained a much higher consideration in the eyes of all practical men. The abolition or amelioration of personal villanage or feudal service, was demanded in a tone that prevailed in several countries; and the promotion of agriculture was at least practically adopted; generally, however, only as far as could be done without forsaking the ancient maxims. The contest respecting the free trade in grain affords the best commentary on this subject.

General remarks. 1740-1786.

Dialogues sur le commerce des bleds, par L'ABBE GALLIANI. Lond. 1770. A Specific for the system-mongers.

Die Freiheit des Getreidehandels in einem Gutachten erörtert von G. P. S. NORRMAN. Hamb. 1802, 8vo.

45. The effect of the mercantile system on politics, therefore, was not diminished, but strengthened, in proportion to the endeavour of governments to get a share of commerce for

General remarks. 1740-1786.

themselves, and to exclude others. The regulation of their mutual commercial relations by treaties of commerce excited jealousy and variance, sometimes in the contracting parties, sometimes in a third; and colonial trade, and the new disputes respecting the rights of neutral flags, (see below,) afforded ample matter for contention.

The commercial treaties of this period, very important from their influence on politics, were: 1. One between England and Russia, June 20, 1766, for twenty years; greatly in favour of British merchants settling in Russia. 2. The treaty between England and France, Sept. 26, 1786, for twelve years. A mutual encouragement to the importation of British manufactures, and French wines and brandy, by means of diminished duties; much to the disadvantage of French manufactures. 3. The treaty between France and Russia, Jan. 11, 1787, for twelve years. A mutual encouragement to the introduction of French wines and Russian iron, soap, and wax, by means of reduced duties, also favourable to the merchants settling in either state; and a definition of the rights of neutrality.

46. In this period, war became, in the fullest sense of the term, an art, and the system of standing armies reached its highest perfection, both in the larger and smaller states. The art however degenerated into trifling and trickery; soldiers were taught rather the parade exercise than the use of arms. A long peace naturally produced this evil, which even the genius of Frederic could not overcome.

47. Much greater evils than this were found in the military system of this period; we may

particularly notice the immense augmentation made to the armies, by the enlistment of foreign troops, who were generally distributed as garrisons into fortified towns; the almost exclusive preference given in promotion to birth, and next to seniority; and the degradation of the common soldier by a disgraceful discipline. From these evils consequences ensued, which were the more dangerous since outward splendour rendered them less perceptible.

General remarks. 1740-1786.

III. *Colonial Affairs from* 1740 *to* 1786.

1. The settlements which the European nations had planted beyond the Atlantic, and which had been growing for almost three centuries, began in this period to ripen. Colonies of all kinds, became in themselves of more importance than ever. But a succession of circumstances and events arose, which, although perhaps following the natural order of things, had not been expected.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

2. Great Britain, during this period, acquired a vast superiority over all the other states in colonial possessions. The foundation of this was her navy, which enabled her, during war, not only to keep up a constant communication with her distant colonies, but at the same time, to prevent her enemies from doing the same, by which their trade became ruined. It must not

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

however be less ascribed to the spirit and genius of the whole nation and government, who, always inclined to commerce, regarded their colonies with anxious care, as that on which it chiefly depended.

American war. 1764-1782.

3. Her possessions in North America, extending from the Mississippi to the great St. Lawrence, and from the ocean to the Allegany mountains, were enlarged at the peace of Paris, by the acquisition of all Canada and Florida, (see above p. 37.) Never did British authority *seem* more firmly established in these regions; but events soon *proved* that it never was less so.

4. The desire of independence is natural to flourishing agricultural colonies; because a new nation gradually becomes formed within them. In America, this desire is augmented by long nourished principles of democracy, a leaven of which had introduced itself into the government of almost every province; a slighter political dependence upon the mother state, and the feeling of growing strength, already tried in the seven years' war. Nothing seemed wanting but some ground of quarrel;—the result was inevitable.

5. This ground was not wanting long; but it arose not so much from a feeling of oppression, as a question of right: this was, whether the British parliament had a right to tax the colonies? Parliament maintained the affirmative; the colonies denied it, because they were not

represented.—The Americans, almost from the foundation of their colonies, had been trained to the discussion of political and religious rights; and were particularly adapted to maintain a principle of this kind to the last extremity. But the enforcement of a stricter trading monopoly with respect to the colonies since the peace of Paris, and the lessening the contraband trade with the French and Spanish possessions, must have increased their discontent, in proportion as it lessened their commerce.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. American war. 1764-1782.

The first dispute arose in 1764, occasioned by Grenville's Stamp Act, passed March 22, 1765. Great commotions immediately produced in all the provinces, especially in Massachusetts and Virginia, and a congress convened at New York in October, which publishes a declaration of the rights of the people.—Repeal of the Stamp Act by the Rockingham administration after Grenville's resignation, March 19, 1766; but the principle was at the same time confirmed by the bill, declaring the supremacy of the Parliament in all cases whatsoever.

6. Though the flame was prevented from breaking out at present, the fire still continued to smoulder; disputes arose in some of the provinces, sometimes with the governors, sometimes with the troops; an opposition was already formed, with men of the highest influence at its head. Among them was Franklin; but so little was the true state of affairs known in England, that, after another change of ministry, Townshend deemed it possible, by means of indirect duties imposed by parliament, to maintain its

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

authority and to carry into effect the object of government.

American war. 1764-1782.

Duties on tea, paper, glass, and colours, by the Revenue Act, June, 1767. The proceeds of these duties to form a civil list for America, which should be wholly at the disposition of the ministers for conferring remunerations, pensions, etc.

7. The opposition to the right of taxation was renewed, especially in Massachusetts, whose capital, Boston, was the principal seat of the opponents. A voluntary agreement to make use of no British commodities, a sure mean of injuring England, was immediately entered into
1770. and acted upon. Lord North was soon after placed at the head of affairs in England, which again gave way, but not sufficiently to satisfy the Americans.

Repeal of all the duties except that on tea, Feb. 1770. However trifling the duty retained, it was still a tacit assertion of the right of England to tax America; a principle which the colonists were determined never to admit. [This was felt in the English house of commons, where Mr. Pownal moved the abrogation of the *whole* of the duties, but his amendment was lost by a majority of sixty-two.]

8. To what could such half measures lead, but to greater distrust? The more the Americans examined the subject the more fully they were convinced of the justice of their cause; and the press, by an immense circulation of pamphlets had already produced here the same consequences, to which it afterwards led on a much larger scale in Europe. England, nevertheless, still persevered in her half measures, but leaving

the application of them to the East India Company, the first insurrection broke out in Boston.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

American war. 1764-1782.

Determination of the Americans not to purchase tea on which a tax had been levied.—The East India Company embarrassed; and after the repeal of the export-tax in England, attempt to gain the Americans by a cheaper price.—But, nevertheless, measures were adopted to prevent the importation of tea, and a cargo of it was forcibly seized and thrown into the harbour, in Boston, Dec. 26, 1773.

The History of the American Revolution, by DAVID RAMSAY. Lond. 1791, 2 vols. 8vo. The calm account of a contemporary who was informed of all the facts, and participated in the events.

Storia della guerra dell' independenza degli Stati Uniti d' America; scritta da CARLO BOTTA. Parigi, 1809, 4 vols. 8vo. A history of the revolution, compiled from the best authorities with care, and well written.—For the investigation of the principle of right, we quote:

Der Ursprung und die Grundsätze der Amerikanischen Revolution, von FRIEDR. GENZ. in his *Hist. Journal*, 1800, vol. 2.

For a deeper insight, the contemporary British Journals are necessary, such as:

Gentleman's Magazine, 1764—1784, and others.

9. This event drove England to more decided measures. The harbour of Boston was closed up, and acts were passed which annihilated the charter of Massachusetts. This was in fact the cause of the general insurrection; as the other colonies saw, in this proceeding, the insecurity of their respective constitutions.

The Boston Port Bill passed March 25, 1774, and on the 20th of May, acts for erecting a royal court of justice, etc. in Massachusetts.—Boston was occupied by English troops.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. American war. 1764-1782.

10. The other colonies readily united in this cause, and measures were taken for convoking a general congress, with rare moderation and order; such as were only possible in a country where there existed no mob. The resolutions of the congress, while they resisted the pretensions of parliament, were by no means directed against the crown.

Congress opened at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774.—A resolution passed to suspend all commercial intercourse with England.

11. England was thus brought to the alternative of either making concessions or entering upon civil war. What could be lost in case of the former? What could be gained by the latter? Even the most successful termination of the war could scarcely be expected to insure a lasting dominion:—The risk bore no sort of comparison with the probable advantage;—and there were not wanting men of prophetic spirit, who advised a compromise; though no one had sufficient penetration to discover, that the loss of North America would be a gain to England. The eloquence even of Chatham and Burke were ineffectual against the ministers. The provinces were declared in rebellion.

An address voted by parliament against the rebellious provincials, Feb. 9, 1775. An attempt made by lord North's conciliatory bill, Feb. 20, to induce them to tax themselves, with the reservation, however, of the supreme authority of the parliament. — The propositions of Chatham, Jan. 20, and

Burke, March 22, to secure the ancient rights of the colonies, were rejected in both houses.—Hostilities begun by the battle at Lexington, April 19.—New troops arrive from England in May. It was still hoped that a few regiments would be sufficient to maintain America!

Colonial affairs. 1740-1785.

American war. 1764-1782.

12. The war hastily begun on the part of the colonies, by the fruitless expedition against Canada, necessarily became defensive; and who so capable of maintaining it as Washington? There was need, not of a Cæsar, but of a Fabius. For though the British might possess separate seaports, had not the Americans the country, with all that it contained?

Expedition against Canada under Arnold and Montgomery, Oct. 1775, frustrated by the relief of Quebec, by Carleton, May, 1776. Boston evacuated by Howe, March 17; on the other hand, Long Island was captured in Aug., and New York became the chief seat of the war. Washington's immortality as a hero, rests not on splendid days, but laborious years; not on rapid success, but enduring perseverance.

13. This increased animosity naturally gave an easy entrance to the idea, which had been widely propagated by statesmen and the periodical press, of an entire separation from the mother country. Only in this case could assistance be hoped for from Europe; and the sending out of German mercenaries seemed to render this inevitable. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES. *Novus sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

July 4, 1776.

Common Sense, by THOMAS PAINE, 1776. Perhaps the most important pamphlet for general history.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. American war. 1764-1782.

14. After this great step, but one happy blow was wanting to procure the colonies allies in Europe. This was done by the capture of Burgoyne and his troops. The issue of trifling engagements here, was followed by greater consequences in the affairs of the world, than the victories of immense armies elsewhere.

Attempt of the English to attack the colonies on the rear, by invading them from Canada, under Burgoyne. He was surrounded by Gates, and capitulates at Saratoga, Oct. 16, 1777.

Die Berufsreise nach Amerika, oder Briefe der Generalin von Reidesel während ihres sechsjährigen Aufenthalts daselbst; (herausgegeben von Heinrich xliv. Grafen Reuss.) Berlin, 1801, 8vo., wife of the commander of the Brunswick troops, and an eyewitness. In English, under the title of:

Letters and Memoirs relating to the war of American Independence, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga. By Madame de RIEDESEL. New York, 1827.

15. This event opened an entrance to the court of Versailles for the previous proposals of Benjamin Franklin. The independence of America was acknowledged by France, and a war with England thereby decided upon. This was a victory of the cabinet against the expressed inclination of the king.—What a grand mistake it made! That the war should become a maritime war, and that it should spread to the two Indies, lay as much in the existing political relations, as that Spain should be shortly involved, though only as the ally of France, and at last Holland. It thus became a war for the domi-

nion of the seas, and was prosecuted by France, for some time, with more success than usual. Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

American war. 1764-1782.

Treaty of amity and commerce concluded between France and America, Feb. 6, 1778. War with England, March 24. Indecisive naval battle at Quessant, July 27. Commencement of the naval war in America and West Indies, under d'Estaing, September. Capture of St. Dominique, by the French, Sept. 7; Senegal, Jan. 30, 1789; St. Vincent, June 16; Grenada, July 4: on the other hand, they lose St. Lucia, Dec. 14, 1778. Commencement of the war in the East Indies; capture of Pondicherry, Oct. 1778. Attack on Hyder Ali, Sept. 1780. A naval war there, under Suffrein and Hughes.—Spain takes a share in this, June 1779, and a junction of the French and Spanish fleets takes place, but leads to nothing. Minorca taken, Feb. 5, 1782; and a protracted siege of Gibraltar, gloriously defended by Elliot, from 1779 to Oct. 1782.—England declares war against Holland, already negotiating with America, and wishing to join the armed neutrality, Dec. 20, 1780. Indecisive naval battle at Doggersbank, Aug. 5, 1781. But Negapatam lost, Nov. 12, and Trincomale, Jan. 15, 1782, and St. Eustace in the West Indies. The British naval power was thus almost a match for that of all the rest of western Europe, and acquired an absolute superiority, by Rodney's new naval tactics, after the great battle off Gaudaloupe, April 12, 1782.

16. The fate of America, however, had to be decided on land, and not on the ocean; and however much assisted by the French auxiliaries under Rochambeau and La Fayette's enthusiasm, Washington has the glory of having struck the decisive blow. The surrender of lord Cornwallis extinguished all hope of success in the English nation.

Expedition against the southern states; Charleston taken;

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

but Cornwallis was surrounded at Yorktown, and forced to capitulate, Oct. 19, 1781.

American war. 1764-1782.

17. Nothing but a change of ministers, which took place upon Lord North's retirement, was required to produce peace. This had long been desired, and clamorously demanded by the English nation; but had now to be concluded, not only with North America, but also with France, Spain, and Holland. It could not be purchased without sacrifices; but it was, in reality, the peace with Holland, which caused the most difficulty; because England wished to gain from Holland some compensation for its losses.

After lord North had retired, March 20, 1782, a ministry was at first organised under Rockingham, who died July 1; in this, Shelburne and Fox were secretaries of state. Shelburne's administration followed (Fox having resigned) till March 14, 1783. He being forced to retire, after the conclusion of peace, a coalition was effected between lord North and Fox till Dec. 18, when William Pitt, placed at the head of a new ministry, Dec. 23, 1783, continued in this post till Feb. 9, 1801. Negotiations of peace were entered upon at Versailles, and preliminaries signed with America, Nov. 30, 1782; with France and Spain, Jan. 30, 1783; which were changed into a definitive peace, Sept. 3.

a. Peace between England and America. 1. The independence of the thirteen United States acknowledged. 2. The boundaries so fixed, that the great western territory was relinquished to the Americans. 3. They continued to participate in the fisheries of Newfoundland. 4. The navigation of the Mississippi left common to both parties.

Ambassadors: from England, lord Oswald; from America, Franklin, Adams, and Laurens.

b. Peace between England and France. 1. All conquests in the West Indies restored, and Tobago resigned to France. 2. In Africa, Senegal ceded to France, in return for the guarantee of Gambia and Fort St. James to England. 3. All conquests in the East Indies restored. The allies of France (Tippo Saib), invited to accede to the treaty. 4. The participation of France in the fisheries of Newfoundland enlarged, and the isles of St. Pierre and Miguelon ceded. 5. It was mutually agreed to conclude a treaty of commerce within two years.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. American war. 1764-1782.

Negotiators: from England, lord Fitzherbert; from France, the count de Vergennes.

c. Peace between England and Spain. 1. Spain to retain possession of Minorca. 2. Likewise of all Florida. 3. All other conquests restored. 4. It was likewise promised that a treaty of commerce should be made within two years.

Negotiators: Lord Fitzherbert; and from Spain, the count of Aranda.

d. Peace between England and Holland. Though Holland, by the preliminaries of the other states, was included in the truce, yet preliminaries with her were first signed under French mediation at Paris, Sept. 2, 1783, and a definitive treaty, May 20, 1784. Conditions: 1. Negapatam ceded to England, under the condition that it should be restored for an equivalent. 2. All other conquests restored. 3. The navigation of all the Indian seas made free to the English.

Negotiators: From England, the duke of Manchester; from Holland, Van Berkenrode and Brantzen.

18. No other war of modern times has led to such vast consequences as this in the affairs of mankind. Not the least of these is the foundation of a new republic across the Atlantic: a state of Europeans, not belonging to the European political system, independent by its own

Colonial affairs. 1740 1786. American war. 1764-1782.

might and its own productions, and at the same time called by its situation to take an active and large share in the general commerce of the world; yet without the need of standing armies, and without cabinet policy. What a different state of things must arise here from that which we have in Europe!

The new republic—established without any internal revolution of the single states, (only trifling changes were necessary,)—languished at first under its liberty. The first constitution was a federative government, without strength and without credit. But the changed constitution of 1789 gave it all the solidity that a federative state can possess; as it placed the executive power in the hands of a president, in connection with the senate; and the legislative, (conformably, in most respects, to British forms,) in the two chambers, the senate and house of representatives, not however without the participation of the president. Public credit, too, was established by a system of finances for the union. To Washington the *president*, the new state was not less indebted than to Washington the *general*. Only by committing the high offices of the state to great men can this union be preserved.

19. Commerce would naturally feel the first influence of the new republic, and almost every maritime power was eager to form treaties with it. But the republic, almost destitute of capital, traded most readily with that which would give her the longest credit; and the commerce with England became far greater, now free, than it had ever been when restricted. Even now it might be foreseen that America would become a maritime power worthy of her descent; her

naval force, however, was upon a very small scale, till in the later sea-wars of Europe, it suddenly grew and acted in a manner that astonished the world. Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. American war. 1764-1782.

20. While this war, by establishing the independence of America, gave, contrary to all expectation, a vast impulse to the increasing commerce of England, its progress was not much less aided by the sudden decline of the trade of Holland, which, once overthrown, never acquired sufficient strength to sustain the powerful competition of its rival, into whose hands the greatest part, if not the whole of it, fell.

21. The American war also gave rise to a new, extraordinary, and very important political combination—*the armed neutrality.* This had its origin in the north, but its influence was soon spread over the rest of Europe; and, however accidental its rise, the want of some such power was too universally felt at the time ever again to be lost sight of. Its object was the protection of the rights of neutral flags. Uncertain as was the issue, Russia shone as the support and centre point of the new system, around which all the neutrals rallied. Though the necessity of this power died with the return of peace, every naval war must necessarily renew it; and it will depend solely on the situation of the kingdoms engaged, whether, and in what manner, this new political engine shall be employed. Armed Neutrality.

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Armed Neutrality.

First declaration of an armed neutrality made by Russia, Feb. 28, 1780. It demanded: 1. That neutral vessels should sail free from port to port, and along the coasts of the belligerent powers. 2. That the property of enemies should be free in neutral vessels, with the exception of contraband, which was restricted to arms and the actual munitions of war. 3. Accurate definition of what a blockaded harbour should be. 4. That this definition should serve as a rule in judging of the lawfulness of prizes.

Declared accession of Denmark to the armed neutrality at the invitation of Russia, July 9, 1780; of Sweden, July 21; of Prussia, May 8, 1781; of Austria, Oct. 9; of Portugal, July 13, 1782. The English anticipated the declaration of the accession of Holland by a declaration of war, Dec. 20, 1780.—In the answers, (April 23,) England expressed no explicit opinion respecting the principle. It was recognised by Spain (April 18), and France (April 25).

Mémoire ou précis historique sur la neutralité armée et son origine, suivi des pièces justificatives par M. LE COMTE DE GÖRZ, (at that time Prussian ambassador at Petersburg:) 1800, 8vo. What gave rise to this system was the seizure of two Russian vessels by the Spaniards; and the Spanish blockade of Gibraltar; (the English had not dared to renew their regulation of 1756, see p. 40, in this war), but its true cause was, the necessity of count Panin to counteract the influence and projects of the British ambassador, sir James Harris (lord Malmesbury). Thus this intrigue led to a greater object than it could have had any notion of.

VON DOHM'S *Denkwurdigkeiten*, B. II. [North American Review, No. lix. page 308, etc.]

HEEREN'S *Miscellaneous Historical Writings*, Th. i, p. 344; contains, in the treatise entitled, *An Examination of the Questions respecting the Claims of the Armed Neutrality*, the necessary explanations of the law of nations bearing on the subject.

22. Though England lost its ancient colonies in America, it still retained its new acquisitions, Canada and Nova Scotia, which became of greater importance, as it was hoped they would make up for what had been lost. As the value of these possessions increased in the eyes of the mother country, they became greater objects of her care. The repeal of the Test act led to the introduction of so mild a constitution into Canada, whose inhabitants were mostly catholic, that culture was no longer limited to Lower Canada, but was so extended in Upper Canada, that a government of its own was deemed necessary for it. Halifax in Nova Scotia now remained the principal harbour belonging to England on the continent of America.

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23. The British possessions in the West Indies had been extended by the cessions made at the treaty of Paris. Of these, however, Tobago was restored to France by the peace of Versailles. The state of the colonies had been improved by the grant of several commercial privileges; but successive wars, the attacks of the *maroons*, (runaway negroes,) and the dreadful storms, which repeatedly devastated the principal island, Jamaica, towards the end of this period, almost annihilated the expectations which had been formed of the advantages that would be reaped from these possessions. The independence of America would indeed have been the ruin of the British West Indies, had not necessity tri-

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umphed over the maxims of the mercantile system.

British West Indies.

The new commercial privileges consisted, partly in the opening of free ports, 1766, on Dominica and Jamaica, for general trade with foreign colonies in their own vessels, (especially for the necessaries of life, and the slave trade,) partly in a free commerce with Ireland, granted January, 1780. The emancipation of America would have exposed the West Indies to famine, had not the former commerce, though circumscribed, been still permitted, April 4, 1788.

A descriptive account of the isle of Jamaica, by W. BECKFORD. 1790, 2 vols. 8vo.

24. The African colonies had been improved for nearly twenty years by the possession of Senegal, by which the gum and slave trade had fallen into the hands of the English. There seemed indeed a natural connection between the latter and the West India colonies; but the markets for slaves opened for foreign colonies in the free ports, and the entire freedom allowed in this traffic, during this period, unhappily concurred to give it an increasing importance.

1786. While the voice of humanity grew louder and louder in its condemnation, the independence of America gave rise to the foundation of a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa itself, which was intended to prove that slavery might be dispensed with.

All the still existing duties, payable to the African company, were abolished 1749; it had been deprived of its monopoly in 1697.—The colony at Sierra Leone settled in 1786, mostly by the negroes of the emigrant royalists. A noble

monument of humanity! Though the leading object was not immediately attained, who can say to what it may lead? Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

An account of the colony of Sierra Leone from its first establishment. 1795, 8vo.

25. But the East Indies became during this period the greatest and most magnificent theatre of the colonial policy of Britain. Its merchant princes became conquerors, and founded an empire, which in a short time far exceeded the mother country in extent and population. The company now appeared under the twofold form of merchants and rulers; while England became the great market for the merchandise of India, and the gulf into which its riches were drawn. British East Indies.

Transactions in India, from the commencement of the French war in 1756, *to the conclusion of the late peace,* 1783. London, 1786, 8vo. A German version has been published by M. C. SPRENGEL, under the title, *Geschichte der wichtigsten Indischen Staatsveränderungen von* 1756 *bis* 1783. 2 Thle. 1788. The most valuable as a general outline.

ROBT. ORME'S *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year* 1745. Lond. 1778, 2 vols. 4to.—A version of this also has been given by ARCHENHOLZ, *Die Engländer in Indien,* 2 Thle. 1788.

A short History of the East India Company, by FR. RUSSEL. Lond. 1793, 8vo.

26. This great revolution in the European affairs of India was prepared by the fall of the Mogul empire. While that retained its power the Europeans could scarcely appear on the continent otherwise than as merchants. But, divided in itself after the death of Aureng Zeb, 1707. the predatory invasion of Nadir Shah gave a 1739.

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final blow to this tottering empire. The name of sovereign still remained; but the governors made themselves independent, and the subject nations began to shake off their fetters.

Of the governors (subahs and nabobs) to this time, the most important are: the subah of the Deccan, (the Nizam,) on whom was dependent the nabob of Arcot, or the Carnatic; the nabob of Bengal, of Oude, and the rajah of Benares. Among the nations, the Patans had long been formidable, and the Mahrattas and the Seiks, were still more so.

27. Both the French and English soon endeavoured to turn these circumstances to their advantage; to the former however, at first, fortune seemed to have allotted the dominion of India. Had Labourdonnaye and Dupleix understood each other, who could have wrested it from them? By their dissensions, however, and the incapacity of the French government, which did not know how to turn the talents of such men to advantage, the precious moments were lost that might have given India to France.

Madras conquered by Labourdonnaye, Sept. 21, 1746, when a dispute arose respecting it with Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Fall and recall of the former; Pondicherry besieged in vain by the English, Aug. till Oct., 1748, and Madras restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. (see p. 18.)

Histoire du Siège de Pondicherry sous le gouvernement de M. Dupleix. 1766, 8vo.

28. The rivalry thus revived between the two nations, was carried to a high pitch by the attempts of Dupleix, who endeavoured to make up

for an unprofitable commerce by territorial possessions. An opportunity of doing this was found by interfering in the quarrels of the native princes; first in the Carnatic, on the Coromandel coast, where the contiguity of the principal settlements made it almost impossible to do otherwise. This could not be difficult in an empire thus fallen to pieces; but it was facilitated even more by the base and venal disposition of the native princes, than by anarchy itself. By the superior talents of Dupleix the French acquired a general predominancy, till the breaking out of the seven years' war.

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Disputes in the Carnatic in consequence of Dupleix supporting the claims of Muzzefar Jung to the Deccan, and of Chundasaheb to Arcot; against whom the English defended their client Mohammed Ally, who finally maintains himself in Arcot, 1756. The recall of Dupleix, who was followed by the unfortunate Lally; while at the head of the British troops, the formidable Clive was forming under the warrior Lawrence, gave the latter the superiority.

29. But it was during the seven years' war, that the company founded its extensive empire. The superiority of British arms triumphed even in India. The conquest and dismantling of Pondicherry established from this time the British dominion on the coast of Coromandel, notwithstanding the restitution of that city by the peace of Paris.

Hostilities begun in the Carnatic, 1758, after the arrival of Lally; it spread over the whole coast, especially to Tanjore.

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—The British preserved the superiority, and Masulipatam was taken, 1760, and Pondicherry, Jan. 16, 1761. The northern Circar was given up by the Nizam, 1766; and the nabob of the Carnatic rendered perfectly independent.

The History and Management of the East India Company, vol. i, containing the affairs of the Carnatic; in which the rights of the nabob are explained, and the injustice of the company proved. Lond. 1779, 4to. Comes down to 1755.

30. But the English soon discovered that it cost more to maintain Coromandel than it was worth; and that a territorial dominion could only be established in India, by the possession of the countries about the Ganges, and especially Bengal, where factories had already long existed, as well as great territorial revenues. The nabob himself gave them an opportunity of attempting this; and Clive founded the dominion of the company with greater ease than he himself had expected. No struggle was required here, such as the Cortes and Pizarros had sustained in America; for the base and simple Mogul nobles readily played the game of the British.

As early as 1690, (see vol. i, p. 256,) the British had a factory at Calcutta; and, in 1699, in consequence of an insurrection, they had secured it by the erection of Fort William. Capture of Calcutta and Fort William, by the nabob Seraja Dowla, June, 1756. The captives incarcerated and suffered to perish in the Black Hole. Expedition of Clive against Madras, 1757. Calcutta reconquered, and a decisive victory obtained at Plassey, June 26, by the treachery of Mir Jaffier, now appointed nabob of Bengal instead of his brother-in-law, but deposed, in 1760, by Clive, in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Cossir; but as the latter, impatient of slavery, rebelled,

Mir Jaffier was again appointed nabob, July 10, 1763. The secret of ruling under the name of others was found out; but it was now scarcely necessary to have recourse to this deception. It cost, however, one more struggle with the subah of Oude, 1765, to whom Mir Cossir and the great mogul, who had been driven from the Mahrattas, had fled, to secure the possession of Bengal to the English.

31. Surrender of the Devani of Bengal, with its revenues and the right of collecting them, to the company, by the great mogul; the nabob becoming their pensioner. Thus the company, having previously acquired the commerce, now obtained the government of the country, though the shadow of it was still left to its former rulers.

Treaty of Allahabad, between lord Clive and the great mogul, (as apparent sovereign,) respecting the resignation of the Devani of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, Aug. 12, 1765, for an annual payment of twelve lacks of rupees.

32. The company from this time became the rulers of an extensive and opulent country; but the expectation that its riches would be greatly increased thereby, was soon shown to be fallacious. A clashing of interests arose between the functionaries—between the directors in England and their officers in India. The former still received the moderate profit of the trade between India and Europe; but they wished to augment the commercial dividends, by the territorial income they now possessed: the surplus of which, however, their agents in India were bent upon

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applying to their own advantage. The most important branches of the domestic trade of that country, too, were abandoned to the subalterns residing there. Thus the wretched Bengal had to endure at once nearly all the evils that tend to crush a nation—a corrupt and tyrannical government, and the most oppressive monopolies.

The principal evils were: 1. The change of the established hereditary rents of farms of the zemindars and ryots, (greater and less farmers,) into annual rents. In a country where almost all landed property was held by rents, all security of possession disappeared at once; and numerous extortions took its place. 2. The bad administration of justice, and the application of British laws. 3. The monopoly granted to the government, in 1765, of salt, betel, and opium, the great necessaries of life in India. 4. The yearly exportation of hard money to England and China. 5. The losses in discounts, occasioned by the defective system of coinage.—The ruin of the country would have been inevitable, even without the terrible dearth of 1770 and of 1771.

The most important works to which these disputes gave rise in England, are:

Considerations on the affairs and the present state of Bengal, by W. BOLTS. Lond. 1772, 3 vols. 4to. Against the company. As an answer:

A view of the rise, progress, and the present state of the English government in Bengal, by Mr. VERELST. London, 1772, 4to. The second and third volumes of BOLTS, contain the answer to this. Only single acts of oppression can be refuted or exculpated; the truth of the general oppression was soon established by the results.

A. F. TYTTLER's *Considerations on the present state of India*, London, 1815, 8vo., contains the best historical survey of the system of possession and farms in India. Even in the well-intended regulations since 1772, the burden eventually

devolved on the poor ryots or peasants; while the zemindars grew rich.

33. A dominion usurped with so much violence, must necessarily remain for some time in a state of great weakness; and in Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore, the English met with a much more formidable opponent than they expected. The impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of European troops, led to the dangerous expedient of organizing a body of native troops, which, contrary to what might have been augured, has hitherto answered very well.

First war against Hyder Ali, (who had usurped the government of the Mysore, from 1760,) and his ally the subah of Deccan, 1767. But the company gain over the latter, Feb. 1768. Still successful invasion of the Carnatic, and peace concluded before the gates of Madras, April 3, 1769. The conquests of both parties restored, and free trade for parties. But Hyder Ali had discovered what he could accomplish.

34. Amid these great revolutions, the internal organisation of the company still continued the same. The directors in England were the chiefs, under whom stood the governors of the four presidencies, independent of one another. Each acted on his own responsibility; and of course it frequently happened that the most important transactions might occur, before orders could arrive from England. These great defects, which, were regarded as a principal source of the evils that arose, it was proposed to remedy by a new act of regulation. A new organisation of

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the company was to take place; the government in India was to be consolidated into one; and rendered in some measure dependent upon the crown.

"Act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company," passed in May, 1773; introduced into India, Oct. 1774. Its principal objects: 1. Improvement in the election of directors: none to hold their seats longer than four years. 2. No person to vote at their election who had not possessed their stock twelve months; and the qualification for directors was raised from stockholders of £500, to holders of £1000. 3. The governor of Bengal made governor-general of all British India, with the highest authority both in civil and military affairs; assisted, however, by the supreme council, consisting of four members with a restraining power; and where a difference of opinion should arise, the affair to be decided by the majority. 4. The right of making war and peace, and of negotiating with the native princes, vested solely in the governor-general and the supreme council. 5. A high court of judicature erected, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges; the appointment of these judges resting in the crown: but appeals might be made from this court to the privy council. All regulations, civil and military, to be laid before the secretary of state in England; the king having the power to annul them. Warren Hastings, governor, 1772, was the first governor-general, 1774—1785.

The whole act is in RUSSEL'S *Collections*, etc. (vol i, p. 190, etc.)

35. By these new regulations, the affairs of India were brought almost completely under the control of the English government; but still much more was done for the company than for the inhabitants of India. The supreme govern-

ment here became more concentrated, though not without occasional disagreements with the other presidencies. Under the sway of the arbitrary, rapacious, and experienced Hastings, oppression became reduced to a system. There could be no lasting peace, consequently there could be no secure state in India. The usual round of conquest took place. Oppression gave rise to resistance—resistance to war—war to expenses—expenses to new oppressions. Thus arose the Mahratta and other wars; till at length conquest became necessary to existence.

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The Mahratta wars were first occasioned, by the protection given by the Bombay government to the usurper Ragobah (*Ragonaut Roy*), against the rajahs Boosla of Berar, Sindia of Ougein, and Holkar of Malwa, but whom they afterwards gave up by the peace of 1776, in consequence of a change in the policy of Calcutta, where the supreme court was now established. Renewal of the war 1777. Bold march of Goddard from Calcutta to Surat, which necessarily alarmed all the Mahratta chiefs. General alliance of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali, against the company, 1779, just about the time when the war breaks out with France. New and dreadful invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, 1780, where he maintains himself two years. Great distress for money, as the war had spread over almost every part of India; and consequent exactions and revolutions in Benares, in Oude, etc. with the most revolting acts of injustice, while the maritime war with the French is going on, at the same time, under Suffrein, and Hyder is assisted by French troops. The separation of the allies extricates England from this embarrassment. Peace concluded with the Mahrattas, May 17, 1782. Restoration of all conquests; and the English obtain the exclusive right of trade. In the peace with France, Pondicherry and

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the other conquests are restored, Nov. 30, 1782. Hyder Ali, (†Nov. 9, 1782), thus had to prosecute the war alone, which his son and successor Tippo Saib terminated by the peace at Mangalore, March 11, 1784. Conquests also here restored, and the trade left free to the English.—Great acts of injustice and oppression brought to light in 1788, by the trial of Warren Hastings; but no restitution made or punishment inflicted for them.

The Trial of Warren Hastings before the Court of Peers. Lond. 1788, 2 vols. 8vo.; also BURKE's *Works*, vol xi, xii, 8vo.

Articles of Charge of high crime against W. Hastings, by EDM. BURKE. Lond. 1786, 8vo.

Memoirs relative to the state of India, by WARREN HASTINGS. 1786, 8vo. His own account.

Geschichte der Maratten bis auf den Frieden mit England, von M. C. SPRENGEL. Halle, 1786. Comes down to 1782.

A History of the Mahrattas, by JAMES GRANT DAFF. Lond. 1726, 3 vols. 8vo. The principal work on this subject. It comes down to 1815, and its author had a command in India.

36. Notwithstanding, however, this fortunate conclusion of the war, and the extension of the company's territory in Bengal, by the capture of Negapatam, it was still evident that it could not long continue in its present condition. All its exactions did not enable it to fulfil its engagements with the government; and its affairs were considered in a state of bankruptcy. It had been felt, too, during the last war, more acutely than ever, that the company formed a state within the state. The necessity of a stricter dependence on the government had become so obvious, that all parties agreed in it. Fox attempted to effect this without success during his

short administration; but the object was soon after attained by Pitt's East India bill.

Fox's East India bill, brought into parliament Nov. 18, 1783, rejected in the house of Lords. Contents: 1. The existing direction to be entirely abolished; and the company, in its political, commercial, and financial relations, to be subjected to a board of control of eight persons, chosen by parliament for four years. Its commercial affairs to be managed by a committee of nine members of the company, subordinate, however, to the board of control. 2. The board to have in its gift all the places of the company, and, like the former court of directors, to be under the control of the king and the ministry.—Would not the board, thus organised, have constituted a new state within the state?

A comparative statement of the two bills for the better government of the British possessions in India, brought into parliament by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, with explanatory observations by R. B. SHERIDAN, Esq. Lond. 1788. In favour of this bill:—

Speech on MR. FOX'S *East India Bill*, by EDM. BURKE, in his *Works*, vol. ii.

After Fox's retirement, Mr. Pitt brought forward his East India bill, Aug. 4, 1784, the basis of the present government of India. Principal points: 1. That the former board of directors should be continued; but 2. That it should be subordinate to a board of control, with regard to the political, military, and financial affairs of the territorial government of India. All despatches to be submitted to its inspection, and might be altered by it. 3. In the court of directors, a secret committee to be appointed, which should swear obedience and secrecy to the board of control. 4. The principal offices to be filled up by the directors, within two months after receiving information of their vacancy—afterwards the king appoints. The right of dismissing persons from these offices was vested in the king as well as in the court of directors. 5. The supreme council of Calcutta to consist of the governor-general and three councillors; the commander-in-chief being the se-

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cond in authority. The same regulations made for Madras and Bombay. 6. The other presidencies strictly subordinate to the authority of the government of Calcutta; the latter, however, to have no power to declare war, except defensive, without permission from England. Great power, however, was placed in the hands of the governor-general, acting on his own responsibility, in all extraordinary cases. 7. Accounts to be rendered of the property of those going to and returning from India; and the defaulters punished.

The whole act (afterwards improved by the act of 1786) may be found in RUSSEL's *Collection*, p. 294, and p. 342.

37. The vast dominions of the company in the Indian peninsula, comprising the countries of the Ganges as far as Benares, the Circars, and indirectly the Carnatic on the Coromandel, with Bombay and other possessions on the Malabar coast, were thus brought under the authority of the goverment at home, with respect to every thing except trade; its commerce still remained in the hands of the company. Even this would scarcely have been left to it, but for the great importance of the China trade, and the immense consumption of tea. In this branch of their commerce they were greatly indebted to the ministry; as the *commutation act*, brought in by William Pitt, was the salvation of the company.

The annual consumption of tea amounted at this time to about twenty million pounds, of which two-thirds were imported by smuggling. The duty on tea was changed by the commutation act, July 1784, into a tax on houses; in consequence of which the smuggling trade ceased of itself.

The complete act is in RUSSEL's *Collection*, etc. p. 319.

38. Although by these proceedings the existence of the company, and the dominions of the British in the East, seemed secured, it still in reality chiefly depended upon the choice of the governor and high officers; England, perhaps, was not much less indebted to Cornwallis than to Pitt. Many ameliorations were made in the condition of the inhabitants; but the weeds of corruption arising from internal war, though considerably lessened, had taken too deep root to be eradicated entirely. Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. British East Indies.

39. This wonderful extension of colonial territory and affairs, caused a corresponding increase in the navigation of the British, whose ships penetrated into every region of the globe, and were only stopped by the limits nature herself had imposed in eternal fields of ice. The three voyages of Cook awakened a spirit of discovery, not much less than the enterprises of Columbus had formerly done. The islands of the South Pacific ocean became as well known as those of the Mediterranean sea; instead of the precious metals, they yielded the sugar cane of Otaheite, and the flax of New Zealand; and Cook himself started the idea of a settlement on the continent of New Holland, which, resting on the sure basis of agriculture, after a lapse of scarcely forty years, promises to outgrow the fostering care of the mother country, to afford her a rich reward, and to become one of her glorious descendants.

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Foundation of a colony in Sidney Cove, New South Wales, Jan. 1788. Probably the most durable monument which Pitt has left of his administration.

ARTHUR PHILIP'S *voyage to Botany Bay*. Lond. 1789, 4to.

DAVID COLLINS'S *account of the Colony in N. S. Wales, from its first settlement in Jan.* 1788 *till* 1801. Lond. 1802, 2 vols. 4to.

France.

40. The history of the French colonies is partly included in the foregoing. Their unfortunate geographical dovetailing with the British possessions never allowed the rivalship to expire. It was always to the disadvantage of France. By the great concessions she made at the peace of Paris, she lost all Canada, with several of the smaller Antilles; and, the British navy having such a superiority, the preservation of her other colonies was exceedingly precarious. The course of events however was very different in the East and West Indies.

41. The hopes of France in the East Indies, were built by Dupleix on territorial possessions. After these were lost in the seven years' war, and the English predominated in India, how could their commerce there flourish any longer, whether carried on by a company or not?

The flourishing period of French power in India was from 1751. By the aid of Dupleix, it acquired the four Circars; the island Sherigan in the river Cauvery, Masulipatam, and an extensive district near Carical and Pondicherry. But the peace of 1763 restored every thing to the footing of 1749, (see p. 36), except that the dismantled Pondicherry and Carical remained to France.—The India Company was abolished, 1769, and the trade left open, with the restriction of returning

ships to L'Orient. Even in its last throes, the mercantile system had its influence.

42. France, however, could not be wholly driven from the East Indies, as the isles of France and Bourbon, unaffected by the troubles of the continent, could not be wrested from her. In addition to their produce, these served as staples for commerce, and as strong holds for the materials of war. But why, asked the *physiocrats*, do we attempt to carry on a direct trade to the East Indies by force, when the indirect is far more certain and advantageous?

France.

Du commerce et de la compagnie des Indes, par DU PONT. Paris, 1769, 8vo.

43. France was much more fortunate in the West Indies; for though she certainly lost here in extent of territory, and though the fortune of war and natural calamities retarded the prosperity of the smaller islands, yet Domingo alone afforded her, in the latter half of this century, such an immense return, that it almost surpassed the expectations of the mother country, whose foreign commerce became almost entirely connected with this island.

The smaller islands were given up by the treaty of Paris, (see p. 37); of these, Tobago fell again into the possession of France. Martinique and Guadaloupe (see p. 34) both fell into the hands of the English, and the former island was long devastated by insects and hurricanes. Domingo, on the contrary, favoured by its fertile soil, and neither desolated by nature or war, grew in prosperity. Its two thousand planta-

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tions, towards the end of this period, yielded produce to the amount of about one hundred and seventy millions of livres, (almost as much as all the rest of the West Indies,) the great markets for which were Bourdeaux and Nantes.

Nouvelles considérations sur St. Domingue en reponse de M. H. DL. par M. D. B. Paris, 1780, 2 vols.—But especially the third vol. of Bryan Edwards. (See vol. i, p. 182.)

44. On the other hand, the possessions on the American continent, both in Guiana (Cayenne) and Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain, remained of little importance, notwithstanding the absurd endeavours to make something of the former. How far the introduction of spices may answer, it is impossible at present to determine.

Louisiana, with West Florida, which appertained to it, was ceded to Spain by France, April 21, 1764, in exchange, (which was never effected,) for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. Spanish policy and tyranny reduced the colony to the verge of ruin.—Great efforts made to colonise Guiana, in 1763, to make up for the loss of Canada. Of twelve thousand persons who emigrated to this colony, the greater part perished of hunger within a year.—Spices introduced from the Isle of France, whither Poive had brought them, in 1770, from the Moluccas.

CHAMPIGNY, *état présent de la Louisiane.* à la Haye, 1776, 8vo.

Collection de Mémoires et de correspondances officielles sur l'administration des Colonies et notamment sur la Guiane Française et Hollandaise, par V. P. MALOUET. Paris, 1802, 5 vols. 8vo. A rich collection of materials.

Holland.

45. With regard to the Dutch colonial affairs, this period was that of their decline and fall. While other nations were making such rapid ad-

vances, to have stood still would have been to go back; but the hidden disease, from which the colonies, as well as the state in general, had long been suffering, was brought to a crisis by the unexpected war with England. If the wounds inflicted by this war on its commerce had not been incurable, they would have been rendered so by the domestic convulsions which soon followed. What are colonies without navies to protect them?

46. As the possessions of the Dutch in the East Indies consisted almost entirely of islands, it is evident that they could not be immediately effected by the revolutions in Hindostan: even the loss of Negapatam might easily have been borne. Still they were not without an injurious influence. But the moral causes which had long been bringing on the decline of the East India company, were more dangerous than the political; and there can be no doubt, that even without the latter, the company would not have escaped bankruptcy.

As further causes of the decline of the company in this period, (see vol. i, p. 322), we must consider: 1. The great massacre of the Chinese on Java, 1740, under the pretence of a conspiracy. 2. The loss of the Indian coasting trade, both in India itself, and to Persia and Arabia, by the rivalry of the English. 3. The continued bad regulations made with respect to navigation. 4. Above all, the war with England and the loss of Negapatam.

Considération sur l'état présent de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales, par M. LE BARON D'IMHOF,

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. Holland.

ci-devant Général-Gouverneur. 1741. Published as an Appendix to:

DUBOIS, *Vies des Gouverneurs, etc.* vol. i, p. 287.

47. The Dutch West Indies, possessed of greater commercial freedom and a different constitution, suffered much less from the evils which afflicted the mother country. The colony of Surinam was in a very flourishing condition from
1767. the middle of the century; and the islands of Curaçao and St. Eustace, were frequently, during the wars of the other maritime powers, the marts of the West Indies, while the republic preserved a neutrality. Here it was that the war with England inflicted the most incurable wounds, and prepared the dissolution of the company, which had been renewed in 1674.

Some changes took place in the possession of Surinam, as the West India company (vol. i, p. 258) sold two-thirds of it to Amsterdam, and the family of Sommelsdyk, but the latter again relinquished its portion to Holland, in 1770. The Surinam company, however, who were the proprietors of the island, never possessed more than the government and the right of levying taxes; the trade was open to all the Dutch. In its most flourishing state, 1750-1780, the annual value of its produce amounted to about eight millions of guilders.

Statistische Beschreibung des Besitzungen der Holländer in Amerika, vom PROF. LUEDER. 1792. The first part, all that has been published, only comprises Surinam.

Spain. 48. The Spanish colonies suffered much less than the others by the rivalries and wars of the mother states. The islands were the most difficult to attack; and the immense regions of the

continent of America were secured by their size. Though the regular trade with the mother country was interrupted by the wars, the contraband, on the contrary, proceeded, and even increased. The quiet internal prosperity seems to have been little affected by them.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. Spain.

Conquest of Porto Bello, 1740, and especially of Havannah, 1762, by the English, were the only losses of any consequence to the Spaniards during this period. Both cities were restored at the peace.—By the possession of the small islands Annobon and Fernando do Po, which Portugal ceded to her in 1778, Spain acquired possessions in Africa for carrying on the slave trade.

49. The extent of their American possessions were but little changed. For Florida, first relinquished (see p. 37) and afterwards recovered, (see p. 97,) Louisiana (see p. 118) had already afforded an equivalent; but its deserts were regarded as a security against the smuggling trade with New Mexico. The ancient settlements still continued the most important, and their internal increase in connection with their extent, now rendered new political divisions and regulations necessary.

The new political division of Spanish America was settled by the regulation of 1777, and the erection of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, and the government of New Mexico; New Granada with Quito having been already, in 1739, raised into a distinct vice-royalty. From this time there were four *Vireynatos*, (vice-royalties): 1. New Spain, (Mexico). 2. Peru. 3. New Granada. 4. Rio de la Plata and Buenos Ayres. Besides which, there were, independent of these, the

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. Spain.

capitanias generales: 1. Mexico. 2. Guatimala. 3. Chili. 4. Caraccas. 5. Cuba and Havannah. 6. Porto Rico. 7. Louisiana, (ceded 1801), and Florida, (ceded 1821). 8. Domingo, (ceded 1797). After the cession of Louisiana, Florida was attached to Cuba. The number of the *Audiencias* was augmented to ten. (See vol. i, p. 85).

(RANDEL), *Neuere Staatskunde von Spanien.* II. Theil. Berlin, 1787. Compiled with much care and judgment, from the best authorities.

50. Of far greater importance still, were the new commercial regulations, which, after the deliverance of Spain from the *assiento* treaty, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, knocked off at once the old fetters by which trade had been encumbered. The mother country retained, indeed, the exclusive right to trade with the colonies; but both this, and the trade of the colonies with one another, were arranged on more liberal principles.

American commerce advanced, step by step, to freedom. The galleons ceased as early as 1748, (see vol. i, p. 91,) and single ships were subsequently introduced, (register ships,) sailing to South America, at no fixed time, from Cadiz, whither the trade had been transferred from Seville, in 1726.—In 1765, the trade to the Spanish West India islands was opened to all Spaniards, and from nine Spanish harbours, in consideration of a duty of only six per cent.—This liberty was extended, in 1779, to Buenos Ayres, to Peru, Chili, Santa Fé, and Guatimala. The fleet still continued to sail to Mexico, (vol. i, p. 91); and did not even obtain a freedom, restricted to six thousand tons importation, till 1786. But the most important relief of all was, the diminution of all duties by the new tariffs of 1778 and 1784.—The trade of the American colonies among themselves had already been thrown open by

the regulation of 1774.—A regular communication with the mother country was maintained by packet boats; and posts were established throughout all Spanish America. Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

The Bourbons have caused no collection of colonial laws to be compiled, as the house of Hapsburg did, (see vol. i, p. 83 sqq.) BOURGOING, *Voyage en Espagne*, tom. ii, is here the principal authority, (see p. 63.) Spain.

51. These new arrangements extended also to the Asiatic possessions, the Philippines. Their trade to America was, indeed, still carried on by the galleons to Manilla, (see vol. i, p. 133,) but to promote a direct intercourse with Spain, a Philippine company was established, which did not, however, meet with all the success that was expected.

The company of the Philippines was formed May 10, 1785, by shareholders, especially of the old Caraccas company, now broken up. The ships went by way of Peru to Manilla, and returned to Spain by way of the Cape. Manilla made a free port, with freedom of trade to Asia.—Court cabals and wars soon palsied the activity of the company.

CROME, *über die Spanische Handlungscompagnie der Philippinen* in: WOLTMANN, *Geschichte und Politik*. 1800, 3 vols.

52. It can hardly be denied, that the colonies gained more by these regulations than the mother country. The latter, it is true, still remained the channel through which they must obtain the produce of foreign industry; but then their own productions had increased and multiplied at a most extraordinary rate. With commerce, too, the circle of ideas had become expanded; and the science and growing intelli-

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

gence of modern Europe, found an easy and happy welcome, which the hierarchy and inquisition were unable to repress.

Portugal.

53. The changes in the colonial affairs of Portugal arose in part from her quarrels with Spain, but far more from the administration of Pombal. Her colonial policy became, in general, more concentrated in Brazil. With regard to her possessions in Asia and Africa, (Madeira excepted,) she could not even conceal from herself, that they were every day becoming more insignificant.

The contest with Spain arose respecting the colony of St. Sacrament, (see vol. i, p. 259,) and its smuggling trade; especially since the colony, with its territory, had been ceded to Portugal by the peace of Utrecht, 1713. A compact, made in 1750, respecting the exchange of this colony for seven Spanish missions to the Indians of Paraguay. This gave rise to a dispute with the jesuits, the founders of the missions, and was opposed by the Indians. The compact was annulled, 1761, and new altercations arose, which finally plunged Spain into a war, 1777. Capture of St. Sacrament and the island St. Catharine. In the peace, St. Sacrament was secured to Spain, but St. Catharine was restored. An exact settlement of boundaries between Brazil and Spanish America, was adjusted to the advantage of Portugal, Oct. 1, 1777. The attempt to found a kingdom in Paraguay has been unjustly charged to the jesuits. How could extensive missions exist, unless conducted as theirs were?

54. The regulations introduced by Pombal, relative to Brazil, had their foundation partly in his political system, partly in his hatred of the higher nobility and the jesuits. The confisca-

tion of the property of the great families there, as crown lands, was intended to mortify the former, and secure Brazil to the crown. By the erection of privileged commercial companies, commerce was to be regulated, and taken from the jesuits. Greater evils were to do away the smaller! Yet, in spite of these measures, agriculture seems still to have flourished in Brazil, as the exports were always increasing.

Brazil was politically divided into nine governments, six of which were on the coast: 1. Rio Janeiro; 2. Bahia, (the two most important;) 3. Pernambuco; 4. St. Paulo; 5. Maranhao; 6. Gran Parà; and three in the interior: 7. Matto Grosso; 8. Goyas; and 9. Minas Geraes; all three abounding in gold, and the last in precious stones. Each had its own governor, who was immediately under the crown. Some contained subdivisions.

The trade with Brazil, hitherto open to all the Portuguese, was carried on under the protection of four squadrons, to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, and Maranhao with Gran Parà. Instead of this: formation of the commercial company of Maranhao with Gran Parà, chartered, June 6, 1756; and on the same plan the company of Pernambuco and Paraiba, July 30, 1759. Principal regulations: 1. The capital of both to be raised by shares. 2. Each to have its supreme board of directors *(Junta)* in Lisbon. 3. Each to have the whole trade, both to export and import, of their respective provinces, (that of Pernambuco with the exception of two or three ports;) 4. Their business to be strictly wholesale.—On the other hand the fleets to Rio Janeiro and Bahia were abolished, and the trade thrown open, Sept. 22, 1765; (so also to Angola, 1758, and to Mozambique from India.) Several lucrative branches of the trade were, however, monopolised by the crown.—The consequences of the entire emancipation of the natives, in 1755, cannot be determined.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1786. Portugal.

The complete charters of the two companies in the *Collecçao* etc. (see p. 62.) vol. i, *ad annum* 1755 and 1759. That of the company of Pernambuco is almost verbatim a repetition of the previous one of Maranhao.—The law for the emancipation of the Indians in Maranhao, June 6, 1755, (extended so as to comprehend all Brazil, May 8, 1758); *Collecçao*, vol. i, recites the former ordinances on the subject from 1570, especially those of 1647 and 1680, which it repeats word for word, and complains of the little good they had done.

Denmark.

55. The northern states also continued to take a part in colonies and colonial trade. The possessions of Denmark in the West Indies remained, indeed, the same, (see vol. i, p. 325,) but their culture increased, and the wars of other nations frequently made their harbours staple places of the highest importance.

A Danish West India Company was formed, 1734, with exclusive commercial privileges for the whole of the Danish West Indies. Upon its dissolution, in 1764, the trade was thrown open.

56. In the East Indies Denmark still kept possession of Tranquebar, and the East India Company, whose charter had been renewed, carried on a successful trade, both with India and China. Without even a pretension to aggrandisement it had nothing to fear from the envy of the powerful.

After the downfal of the old company, 1730, a new one was chartered, 1732, with funds partly permanent, partly transferable. Their patent, (renewed, 1772,) extended only to China, and not to India, which was open to all, under certain condi-

tions. New regulation; and the company relieved by the cession of their Indian possessions to the crown, 1777. Colonial affairs. 1740-1786.

Geschichte des Privathandels und der jetzigen Verfassung der Besitzungen der Dänen in Ostindien, von A. HENNINGS. Hamb. 1785, 8vo. (Oder: *Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Europäer in Ostindien.* Erster Thiel.) Compiled from original documents.

57. In Sweden the company instituted at Gottenburg, (see vol. i, p. 325,) carried on an advantageous Indian trade, yet almost exclusively to China. In the West Indies, also, Sweden obtained a firm footing, by procuring the island of St. Bartholomew from France. Sweden.

The charter of the East India Company was renewed, 1747, 1766, and 1786, each time for twenty years. St. Bartholomew was obtained in exchange for commercial concessions, July 1, 1784.

58. Even distant Russia not only participated in the Chinese trade, by means of caravans, but after the discovery of the Kurili and Aleutian islands, carried on hunting, and established a trade in peltry there, which led at last to settlements on the coasts of North America, and the erection of a commercial company for this particular object. Russia. 1741.

An intercourse was opened with China as early as 1692, by Peter I., of which Kiachta became the principal seat. This trade remained a monopoly of the crown, till it was thrown open by Catharine II. in 1762.

59. Where can we find a more interesting subject for contemplation than in this spread of

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European dominion over half Asia, nearly all America, and the coasts of Africa and Australia? Though lust of gain may have been its first object, yet it was acquired, and has been since maintained, by intellectual superiority. If the barbarians still remained barbarians, the Europeans at least preserved their civilisation, even beyond the Atlantic. Their creations have prospered too well—the seeds of cultivated intelligence have been scattered too widely, and have taken too firm root, to leave any fear of their future decay, however various may be their fate on the different soils on which they have been sown. Who can conceive the ultimate effect of all this? What mind can penetrate the boundaries of the immense prospect it has opened to our view.

SECOND PERIOD.

From 1740 *to* 1786.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

For want of a general history of the north, we must mention here, at the beginning:

Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette république, par CL. RHULHIERE. Paris, 1807, 4 vols. 8vo. Conf. the critique of DUPONT DE NEMOURS, in *Europ. Annalen.* 1812, St. 8, 9. It goes down to the first partition of Poland, 1772. Properly a leading work only for the history of the Poles, but important for that of the whole north; compiled from actual observation. In this respect a capital work; but the perfect historian is not formed in the great world alone.

The *Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II.* apply to particular facts.

Northern states. 1740-1786.

1. THE north of Europe stood, during this period, after the aggrandisement of Russia, in a closer connection with the west than formerly; but, except the period of the seven years' war, its influence was rather of a diplomatic than military character. Notwithstanding, therefore, that we have been compelled to glance occasionally at the north in the foregoing period, it still requires its own separate history.

Northern states. 1740-1786.

2. The relations of the north certainly, from this time, depend in a great measure upon Russia, but in a very different manner during the first half of this period to what they do in the last. The accession of Catharine II. forms the epoch; and the period naturally divides itself into two sections, before and after that event.

I. *From* 1740 *to the accession of Catharine II.*, 1762.

3. In this period the north of Europe offers, in a political respect, a perfect contrast with the former. Not a single prominent character appears, either on the throne, in the cabinet, or in the field. Personal interests and passions, frequently of the most detestable kind, decided respecting the foreign, no less than the domestic relations of the states. While the leading empire was vegetating under an indolent, but on that account a no less cruel despotism, anarchy was organised in the two bordering monarchies.

1. RUSSIA. After the short but stormy reign of the minor, Ivan the third, from Oct. 28, 1740, to Dec. 6, 1741, a revolution raised Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter I., to the throne. Her sway, (till Jan. 5, 1762,) beginning with the fall of foreigners, (see vol. i, p. 347,) seemed about to bring back the empire to its ancient state of barbarism. Foreign affairs, divided between the privy councillor Lestoc and count Bestuschef Riumin, chancellor of the empire, after the overthrow of the former, (Nov. 13, 1748,) came wholly under the manage-

ment of the latter, till he also (Feb. 1715) prepared his own fall. The state subsisted, because it could not fall asunder; and was imposing, not by its spirit, but by its mass. Northern states. 1740-1762.

Respecting Lestoc and Bestuchef, see BÜSCHING's *Magazin*, 1768, B. ii. Russia. N. 3, 4.

2. SWEDEN, under the reign of Frederic of Hesse, († 1751,) and yet more under his successor Adolphus Frederic, was rather an aristocracy than a monarchy; and the civil broils fomented among the various factions of the nobility, by the rankling hatred of Russia, seemed teeming with danger in a state where actual poverty made foreign subsidies so acceptable. Thus this kingdom became an instrument, as it were, in the hands of the foreign power who could pay most. And as for the factions of Syllenborg and Horn—of the *hats* and the *caps*, as they called themselves—though in principle the former was for war and the latter for peace, yet amid the various changes which took place, they became nothing more than a French and Anti-French party.

DES GRAFEN R. F. ZU LYNAR *hinterlassene Staatsschriften*. Hamburg, 1793, 2 vols. 8vo. Under 1, 3, 4, and 7, they give by far the best account respecting the internal relations of Sweden during this period; which is perfectly confirmed by FLASSAN's accounts.

3. POLAND, under Augustus III. and Brühl (vol. i, p. 328) was the image of anarchy at rest, as Sweden was of anarchy in action. To the people misery, to the nobles pleasures had become necessary. And matters of state were among these pleasures, while they were managed by ladies. Among a people so enervated, the Czartorinskies and Branickies were able to form their projects and parties, without fear or trouble. Without attachment to Russia, but crouching under its feet, Poland possessed scarcely the shadow of liberty. As it could not protect itself, France and the Porte seemed to be its natural guardians: but even the alliance of France with Austria, (and consequently with Russia) was insufficient to arouse them from their lethargy; and foreign influence, (additionally supported by the political relations of Courland, see vol. i. p. 348.,)

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notwithstanding all that a Williams or a Broglio could do, was able to form nothing more than projects. Relations of a very different kind from those of policy were to decide the future destinies of Poland, after the youthful Poniatowski (nephew of prince Czartorinski) was introduced by the councillor Williams into the grand duke's court at St. Petersburg, where he formed an alliance for himself.

4. DENMARK, without a rival after the fall of Sweden, was, under Christian VI. (Sept. 15, 1746) and Frederic V., (Jan. 14, 1766,) sufficiently happy in being able to retire within itself. Even the Russian cabinet, under Elizabeth, owing to the political relations with Sweden, made the preservation of its friendship with Denmark a maxim of state policy. Under these circumstances, what was wanting to complete the security of the latter power, had not the ancient feuds with Holstein-Gottorp still disturbed its prospects of the future?

5. For PRUSSIA, see above page 76.

4. The period commenced, even under the empress Anne, with a Swedish-Russian war, (after the victory of the Syllenborg party at the imperial diet,) which was privately fomented by France, in order that she might not be thwarted in her designs upon Austria, by the intervention of Russia. Sweden actually expected to recover the lost provinces on the Baltic, including St. Petersburg! The war, however, though conducted with very ill success to Sweden, was nevertheless terminated by the peace at Abo, much more to her advantage than she could have dared to hope for. A more lasting peace with Russia, was not purchased too dearly at the expense of conceding the election of a successor, and a new adjustment of the boundary line in

Finland. But the spirit of faction was not therefore destroyed, as it found perpetual encouragement and support in the machinations of France and Russia, the one power endeavouring to overthrow, the other to preserve the existing constitution.

Sweden declares war on Russia, Aug. 4, 1741; loses the battle at Willemstrand, Sept. 2, and then all Finland, for which two generals, Lewenhaupt and Buddenbrok, suffer on the scaffold. Peace concluded at Abo, Aug. 17, 1743. Conditions: 1. The Kymen made the boundary, by which Petersburg is made secure. 2. Adolphus Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp, according to Elizabeth's wish, is appointed next successor to the crown of Sweden.

5. The choice, however, which Elizabeth made, shortly after she came to the throne, of her future successor, had a considerable influence, not only on Russia, but on the northern states in general. The person she fixed on was her nephew, the young duke of Holstein-Gottorp, Charles Peter Ulrich, who, by birth, had an equally near prospect of succeeding to the Swedish throne, which, however, he resigned in favour of his cousin Adolphus Frederic. The opening of such splendid prospects to a collateral branch of the house of Holstein, must have been an additional cause of apprehension to the direct reigning line in Denmark, because the young duke did by no means, in his new hopes, lose the deepest sense of the old grievances of his house. The consequence was, a long series of negotiations for

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adjusting the ancient contests concerning Holstein and Sleswic, which left policy the lesson how dangerous it is to attempt to execute even the most useful projects at an unseasonable time.

The history of these protracted negotiations is given at large in:

Staatsschriften des Grafen zu Lynar. Th. i. No 6.

6. But after Frederic's appearance on the scene, the affairs of the west occupied the Russian cabinet, far more than the affairs of Russia itself. The question was not, whether the interest of Russia was to be espoused, but whether
1748. that of Prussia or of Austria. After the fall of Lestoc, the Austrian party was triumphant, to which not only Bestuchef, (for thus only could subsidies be obtained from England,) but Elizabeth herself—it may be doubted if she knew why—was devoted.

Russia made an alliance with Austria, June 12, 1747, and a subsidiary treaty with England, for hastening the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. (See p. 18.)

7. Whether the increase of Prussia threatened danger to Russia was a problem for speculative politics; but the continued alliance with Austria and Saxony, which eventually led to an eager participation in the seven years' war (p. 29), was not viewed from so high a point. Though Russia, in the end, derived no aggrandisement from this war, it nevertheless first established in the west the renown of Russian arms; just as

Sweden, by an equally impolitic participation, lost its fame; and while all the power of Russia was turned to this object, the Porte not only saw itself meanwhile secured, but even Poland could enjoy a kind of fallacious quiet, that prepared its fall. Northern states. 1740-1762.

8. But this eager participation against Prussia created in the court itself such a division, that, in all probability, nothing but the fall of the perfidious Bestuchef prevented a revolution, which he himself was desirous of producing. Three characters, so different in their principles and views as Elizabeth, Peter, and his young wife Catharine, could not live in harmony. Elizabeth died opportunely, not only for Frederic, but perhaps also for herself. 1758. Jan. 6, 1762.

Biographie Peter's des Dritten; Tübingen, 1808, 2 Theile. —The first volume illustrates the history before his accession with discernment and love of truth.

9. It was easy to foresee a total change of political relations under her successor, Peter III. He ascended the throne, in ill humour at the treatment he had received, enthusiastic for Frederic, and exasperated against Denmark. Yet, notwithstanding his alliance with the former (p. 34), his projects against Denmark might have met with great difficulties in the execution. But after a reign of hardly six months, a revolution precipitated him from the throne into the grave; and with his successor Catharine II. a new order of things began. July 9.

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Histoire de la Révolution de Russe en 1762, par RHULIERE. —This work could not be printed till after Catharine's death. —It is also annexed to the *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, tom. iv. Though not free, perhaps, from single inaccuracies, it is still the leading work.

II. *From the accession of Catharine II. to the alliance with Joseph II.* 1762—1787.

A good biography of Catharine would almost form a complete history of this period. Till we obtain which, we must be content with:

Histoire de Catharine II. Impératrice de Russie, par J. CASTERA. Tom. i.—iii. Paris, An VIII. Respecting the history of the court and other single topics, the author or authors give good information.

1762-1787. 10. The accession of Catharine evidently constituted a new epoch, not only for Russia, but for the north in general. The ratification of the separate peace (though not of the alliance) with Prussia (p. 34) altered the relations of the north, by severing the alliance with Austria and leaving Catharine free scope.

11. It is of great importance to seize rightly the prevailing ideas in the policy of this princess. Even great historians have spoken of the dictatorship which she exercised or wished to exercise in Europe. But although her diplomacy encircled all Europe, she yet knew how to separate most accurately her sphere of practical influence. This embraced only the contiguous nations, the north and the Porte, and never exceeded these

limits. Even personal affronts could urge her no further. Much of her greatness may be merely conventional; that her policy grew nobler with the progress of time, no one has maintained; but history will not deny her the rare honour, of having correctly estimated the strength of her dominions. Northern states. 1762-1787.

The indolent, and yet indispensable, count Panin, was the minister of foreign affairs till 1781. But his influence was often outweighed by that of the favourite, prince Gregory Orloff.

12. What a field for her projects was offered by her neighbours; Sweden, Poland, the Porte, in a state of anarchy, and all the other powers exhausted! Under the name of a great Northern Alliance, comprehending also Prussia and England, the principality of Russia was to be established; but soon forsaking such projects, she found in Poland the real theatre for her exertions. Its geographical situation must, of itself, have produced the various relations in which it stood with regard to the other powers.

13. What did Russia need in Poland, but the continuance of the existing anarchy? Under the pretence of preserving its liberty and constitution, a dominion could be founded, for which the nation had, as yet, to be grateful. The occupation of Courland, had originally occasioned the altercation; but the vacancy of the throne, occasioned by the death of Augustus III. brought matters to a crisis. Oct. 5, 1763.

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Prince Charles was driven from Courland, and Biron was again put in possession, 1763.

14. To give a king to Poland was now the decided wish of Catharine, although the final elevation of her former favourite was the work of her minister, rather than herself. To give Poland a king! how much did such a proposition include, when Frederic, and Maria Theresa, and Mustapha were to be the spectators, and France left unnoticed? What obstacles were to be surmounted in Poland itself, unless the decision was to be immediately effected by the bayonet? There was here no want of men of courage and experienced age. But what could individuals do, if the great body of the people, listening to no reason, regarded foreign tyranny as more tolerable than domestic sway? Thus could the crafty favourite of the empress open an avenue, by which the imperious Repnin soon attained his object, and the finely conceived plans of reform of the Czartorinskies were frustrated.

Sept. 7, 1764.

Stanislaus Poniatowsky was elected under Russian arms.

15. No power could be more interested in these proceedings than Prussia. But Frederic, without allies, and the foe of Austria, solicited Russia's alliance; in return for which he was ready to sacrifice Poland. Though perhaps his situation excused this policy, the danger and degradation of which did not escape him, there is yet a limit of compliance which egotism itself

does not readily exceed. That Frederic suffered the continuance of the Polish anarchy to be expressly made a condition, was a humiliating circumstance, which posterity cannot pardon in a hero. Yet this great man was not wholly untrue to himself. He did not, at least, conceal from Poland, that it had nothing to expect from him. Northern states. 1762-1787.

A treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Prussia, April 11, 1764. The conditions were, a mutual defence and guarantee of all European possessions.—The preservation of the constitution of Poland was the subject of a secret article.

16. If this alliance settled the fate of Poland, and perhaps that of the whole north, Prussia now wanted nothing but a pretext for acquiring permanent dominion in Poland. This was soon discovered in the case of the *Dissidents*. By protecting them, a party was soon formed, and the reputation of being tolerant secured at the same time. But the dullest eye could not but perceive, that this was much less the object than the foundation of despotic power. It was not, therefore, blind fanaticism which impelled the patriotic party to resist; but its leaders, Soltik, Krasinsky, and Pulaski, men of exalted character, stirred up fanaticism, because they found their support in that alone. Even Catharine was apparently very desirous to produce it, as she soon demanded not merely toleration, but political equality for the dissidents.

Though the toleration of all dissidents (those who were not

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Catholics,) was effected, yet the political equality could only refer to the dissident nobles, who were few in number. They themselves had asked no more than toleration. The Russian requisitions were declined, Nov. 1766.

June, 1737. 17. Through the instrumentality of Repnin, a general confederacy was formed at Radom, by the union of the dissidents and other discontented persons, under Radzivil, who till now had been the enemy of the Russians and the king; Oct. 1767. and a diet was soon after convened at Warsaw. The adoption of the new laws, perpetuating the rights of the dissidents, and all the evils of the constitution, under the guarantee of Russia, was effected by force; but not till the bishops Soltik and Zaluski, and the Rzevuskies were arrested in Warsaw and sent to Siberia. Such men even a Repnin was unable to bend!

18. And yet they had miscalculated; because it had not been taken into consideration, that despair does not calculate at all. A counter con- Feb. 1768. federacy was formed at Bar, prepared by bishop Krasinsky, and completed by Pelaski and Potocki. The object of the confederates now was the change of their union into a general confederacy for the dethronement of the king, who, always inclining to the Russian side, could never have gained the confidence of such a party. But a war, marked with all the cruelties of devastation, must first have opened them the way; and they soon had to experience how little the highest courage, unless fortune and numbers give it

the superiority, can effect against a methodical art of war.

19. One hope, however, remained; and it was not delusive! The policy of the Porte had not altered, like that of the Christian courts. If the latter believed it necessary to yield, in the divan the old idea still survived, to allow no Russian army in Poland. The evacuation of Poland had always been, therefore, the constant demand of the Porte from Russia; and nothing but the gross ignorance of the divan would have made it possible to deceive it so long. The requisitions of the confederates, and the influence of France finally prevailed. The Porte declared war on Russia. Oct. 30, 1768.

20. Thus the theatre expanded of itself, and peace could hardly be expected without great changes in the north. It was purchased at last by a six years' contest, which taught Catharine what she could do in the cabinet and in the field. Austria and Prussia quietly looked on; while Frederic paid his stipulated subsidies.

21. The war proceeded on land and sea. New and bold plans were projected for penetrating beyond the Danube; for urging the Greeks to rebellion; for despatching a squadron from the Baltic to the Archipelago, and menacing the capital; for contracting alliances in Egypt, in order to detach it from the Porte;—and all were executed, but only in part. A peace of almost thirty years had lulled the energies of the Porte;

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but a Romanzoff had first to be formed among the Russians.

Campaign on the Dniester, under Gallizin, against the allied Turks and Tartars, 1769, with little success. Possession was taken of Choczin, which had been abandoned, Sept. 9.—Romanzoff was invested with the command, who subdued Moldavia, after the victory on the Pruth, July 18, 1770; and Walachia after the greater victory on the Kagul, Aug. 1. Bender was conquered by Panin, Sept. 1.—Meanwhile, the Russian fleet under Alexis Orloff made its appearance in the Archipelago, obtained a victory at Scio, July 5, and burned the Turkish fleet at Tchesme, July 16, without making any further use of the victory.—In the following campaign of 1771, a defensive war was waged on the Danube; the Crimea was conquered by Dolgoruky. A connection was formed with the then victorious Ali Bey in Egypt. The year 1772 elapsed with fruitless negotiations between Romanzoff and the grand vizier at Foczani and Bucharest.—Separate treaty made with the Tartars in the Crimea. The war renewed 1773. Romanzoff crossed the Danube; made a useless siege of Silistria, and retreated across the river.—Ali Bey was defeated and taken prisoner in Egypt, May 7.

A clear light is shed over Romanzoff's campaign by the well known correspondence, in their own hand writings, between the empress and him.

Respecting the revolution attempted by Ali Bey:

(LOUSIGNAN) *Histoire de la Révolution d'Ali Bey.* Tom. i. ii. 1783; and the accounts of VOLNEY in his *Voyage en Syrie et en Ægypte.*

22. But although Catharine was fortunate in not being interrupted in her undertakings by the participation of other powers, her attention was nevertheless engaged by affairs of another kind, partly in the interior of her own empire, and partly

in the neighbouring states. A desolating pesti- Northern states. 1762-1787.
lence spread to Moscow; and the insurrection of
a common cossack, Pugatschef, who gave himself 1771.
out for Peter III., employed an important part 1773.
of her troops, and even threatened to shake her throne. But in two neighbouring kingdoms two most opposite revolutions were taking place at the same time; in Sweden contrary to, in Poland according to, her wishes.

23. The Swedish revolution, produced by Gustavus III., preserved the independence of this kingdom. The violent factions of the nobility, led on solely by family interests and foreign influence, offer a much more disgusting aspect than those of Poland. Not even a mistaken feeling of patriotism; not even single eminent characters. Nothing but the weakness of the two former kings could have allowed such a state of things to continue. But in one respect, Sweden was superior to Poland; it still had a class of free citizens and peasants; and in this consisted the possibility of its salvation.

After the victory of the *Hats* in the diet of 1738 (p. 131), this party, and with it the influence of France (subsidiary treaty, Nov. 10, 1738; renewed 1747 and 1754), maintained themselves till the diet of 1762. When France could or would pay nothing more, the *Caps* triumphed, and the Anglo-Russian influence began. A treaty was made with England, Feb. 5, 1766. But both parties, each in the time of its superiority, deemed it necessary to restrict the regal power; till in the diet extraordinary of 1769, France again purchased its influence, in the vain hope of alleviating Poland and the Porte,

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by exciting a war. King Adolphus Frederic died Feb. 11, 1771.

Compare FLASSAN, *Histoire* (vol. i. p. 5). tom. v. p. 457, etc.

24. Gustavus III. appeared on the scene. He seemed to have derived much from Frederic, his grand uncle; the quick-sighted eye of genius, elevation of mind, and every splendid talent. One thing only was wanting; that coolness of character, without which no man can become a great ruler. To remain in a state, such as his, was for him impossible. The bloodless revolution, altogether his work, is also his greatest achievement; and was alike beneficial for himself and the kingdom. The states of the kingdom underwent no change, the council only was overturned.

The revolution broke out and was completed in Stockholm, Aug. 19, 1772; in understanding with France. The new constitution left the states their rights; the council of the kingdom was merely deprived of its share in the government. No aggressive war could be waged without the consent of the states.—It was not the fault of the constitution, if any thing was wanting to national happiness.

C. F. SHERIDAN'S *History of the late Revolution in Sweden.* London, 1778, 8vo. The author was secretary to the English embassy in Stockholm. The work gives a clear and, for the most part, an impartial survey of the earlier internal relations, subsequent to 1720.

25. This restoration of the royal power in Sweden operated differently on the relations of the north in general. England beheld it with dissatisfaction, because France saw it with plea-

sure; the others had no objections; Russia alone had to feel it deeply, that no dominion could now be founded in Sweden as in Poland. But Catharine was sufficiently mistress of herself, to restrain her displeasure. She was too much occupied with other affairs. Northern states. 1762-1787.

The embarassment of Frederic as guarantee of the Swedish constitution against Russia, was removed by the mediation of Austria; and his mediation again preserved the good understanding with Denmark, where, after Struensee's fall, Jan. 17, 1772, the widowed queen Juliana Maria had taken, for a short time, the administration into her own hands.

26. The fate of Poland drew near its decision in another way. The activity of the confederacy of Bar had not relaxed during the Turkish war; it had declared the throne vacant, and had dared to remove the king from his own residence. But the Porte had enough to do for itself: and the increasing preponderance of Russia finally seemed so dangerous to Austria also, that a further extension of the war seemed inevitable. Nov. 3, 1771.

The Austrian cabinet was resolved not to permit the Russians to penetrate beyond the Danube, as was then meditated. Austria had also claimed and occupied the county of Zip, as formerly pledged to Poland.

27. Under these circumstances, on occasion of a visit of prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg, a project was matured, to reestablish peace at the expense of Poland. Though prince Henry and Catharine were its first authors, Frederic soon became its zealous advocate. Whatever Partition of Poland.

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share accident may have had in its origin is, on the whole, of less importance than the possibility of its being matured. Deep as public morals may sink, they can never sink so low, that the calmly concerted robbery of a neighbour should need any commentary. It was a fruit of the policy of aggrandisement and compactness of territory, proceeding from the divided situation of the Prussian monarchy.

Negotiations were entered upon respecting the first partition of Poland, at first between Prussia and Russia, and subsequently between Prussia and Austria. These negotiations were followed, Aug. 5, 1772, by the treaty of partition, in virtue of which, 1. Russia obtained the country between the Dwina, Dnieper, and Drutsch. 2. Austria, what was then East Galicia and Lodomiria. 3. Prussia, all Polish Prussia (except Dantzic and Thorn) and a part of Great Poland as far as the Netze; which boundaries were afterwards extended at will by Austria and Prussia. The three powers not only guaranteed mutually to each other what they had taken, but also guaranteed what remained after the partition, to Poland itself!

Mémoires et actes authentiques relatifs aux négociations, qui ont précédées le partage de la Pologne; tirés du portefeuille d'un ancien ministre du 18me siècle (le COMTE DE GOERTZ) 1810. From this source has been mostly drawn the narration in DOHM's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. i. and the additions in vol. ii., by which a clear light has been shed over the origin and progress of this deed of violence, of which Frederic, indeed, was not the author.

Vie privée, publique, et militaire, du prince Henry de Prusse. Paris, 1809. This book gives a good account of the origin of the first Polish partition, as well as several contributions to the history of the progress of the system of connecting their territories among the great. The brother of Frederic had no other policy. He conferred quite as calmly with

Joseph concerning the partition of Germany, as with Catharine concerning the partition of Poland.

28. The consent of the nation was extorted by force in the diet at Warsaw, after possession had already been taken. But Catharine was not willing to relinquish or divide her dominion in the rest of Poland; and who dared to contradict her? The erection of the perpetual council, and the guarantee of the kingdom as elective, together with the *liberum veto*, ensured to her the lead, which, after Repnin's recall, ambassadors even of a much less determined character were able to take. As for the affair of the dissidents, it was, of course, left to shift for itself!

29. But what were the consequences to Poland, in comparison with those which threatened the political system of Europe? The potentates themselves had begun its subversion! Politicians consoled themselves, indeed, and so did Frederic, that the balance of power would be upheld in the north by the nearly equal division. So fearfully had the error taken root, that this is to be sought in the material power of the state, and not in the preservation of the maxims of international law. What dismemberment could be illegal, if this should be regarded as lawful? And what state could be more interested in maintaining the law of nations, than Prussia, a state which was itself conquered by piecemeal, and brought together by compacts and treaties of peace?

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30. This first Polish partition, in connection with a successful campaign, facilitated the compromise between Russia and the Turks; since Catharine remitted her claims to Moldavia and Walachia, and the resolute Mustapha III. had been succeeded by his imbecile brother, Abdul-Hamid. The manner in which the peace was concluded at Kainardgé, near Silistria, without foreign mediation, fully proved that she could dictate the terms.

Jan. 21, 1774.

Romanzoff crossed the Danube a second time, and surrounded the grand vizier in the mountains of Bulgaria. A short negotiation was made in the Russian camp between Repnin and Achmet Effendi, and the peace was concluded at Kutschuk Kainardgé, July 21. Conditions: 1. The Tartars in the Crimea and in Cuban were to be independent under their khan. 2. The conquests, especially Moldavia and Walachia, were restored to the princes appointed by the Porte. Russia reserved, however, the right of taking an interest in their affairs at Constantinople. 3. Russia retained Kinburn and Azoph, as also in the Crimea, Jenikale and Kertsch with their districts, besides the greater and less Cabardia. 4. Commercial navigation was to be free in the Black sea, and in all the Turkish seas. 5. Several arrangements were made respecting the prerogatives of the Russian ambassador to the Porte, the Russian consul, the imperial title, etc.

31. By this peace and the Polish partition, an order of things was established, which seemed merely a transition to further convulsions.—The alliance of Russia with Prussia continued in form; after the Swedish revolution, a secret alliance had been formed with Denmark; the

ascendancy in Poland was confirmed; the relations with Sweden were very doubtful; those with the Porte very complicated. But what was the increase of the physical, compared with the moral power of Russia! After Catharine had succeeded in these great trials of her strength, she first learned to perceive what she was able to do. To enable her to make a full use of the strength of her vast empire, nothing was wanting but a methodical internal organisation. For this also she found time. The new division into governments, and the whole administration founded on it, beneficial in many respects, was on that account no less suited to the masculine woman, who would herself be the efficient ruler. Northern states. 1762-1787. 1773.

32. It was about this time, that the new favourite Potemkin rose. Of the sparks of genius peculiar to the Titan race of the Orloffs, none seemed to have fallen on him; his impulses proceeded not so much from a desire of power and fame, as from avarice and the love of orders. At the side of a monarch capable of high and bold ideas, he flattered her; and supported by a degree of haughtiness adapted to his narrow-minded views, he acquired and maintained an influence, which determined the destinies of the north.

Potemkin (after 1776, a prince of the German empire) was the only one of Catharine's favourites, whose great political influence began after he had left the station of favourite.

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From 1778 to his death in 1791, he had almost the sole direction of foreign relations.

Potemkin der Taurier, in the *Minerva* of ARCHENHOLZ, in numbers, from April 1797 to Dec. 1800. The well informed author of this biography has not up to this time been contradicted in any essential point.

33. From this time the Grecian project received its form. To rear a Grecian empire on the ruins of the empire of the Ottomans, and to place a prince of her house on the new throne, was now the darling idea of Catharine. This scheme had been much advanced by the last war, and still more so by the last peace. The great difficulties which obstructed its accomplishment could not but be seen, but even these endowed it with greater charms in her eyes, and in the worst event, it seemed possible to remove them by a partition in the case of Turkey, as in that of Poland.

The correspondence, psychologically and physically interesting, of Catharine with ZIMMERMAN, contained in his *Verhaltnisse mit der Kaiserin von Markard*, 1803, contains (Lettre XXVI), the confession of the empress herself on this subject. The origin and progress of this project has been best developed in DOHM's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. ii. Though the aged Münnich first gave the suggestion to Catharine, it was encouraged by VOLTAIRE in his *Tocsin des Rois*, and yet more in his letters to the empress.

34. This project was, however, and continued to be for a long time, a mere idea; and when a second war broke out with the Turks ten years

after, insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution were soon disclosed. But even as an idea, it had too great an influence to remain unnoticed. From this time, the Porte remained the aim of Russian policy; the dislike conceived against Sweden thus found another channel; the ancient domestic contest with Denmark (the subject of so long and fruitless negotiations, p. 132), was settled by an exchange and a present, and it determined its other relations with foreign countries. Northern states. 1762-1787.

The ancient claims of Holstein-Gottorp were adjusted by the exchange of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst for the country of Holstein-Gottorp, June 1, 1773.—Oldenburg was conferred as a duchy on the younger line, as yet unprovided for, of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, July 14.

Leben des Grafen A. P. von Bernstorf von v. EGGERS, 1800, gives the best account of this, as well as of Danish politics generally.

35. The alliance with Prussia, the work of Panin, now lost its importance; it afforded no assistance against the Turks, and the purpose for which it had been intended, was already attained. But without the acquiescence of England and the aid of Austria, it seemed impossible to put the grand project in execution; to gain them both was therefore the plan of Potemkin. The connection with England was near a conclusion, when Panin, by an armed neutrality (see p. 99) averted the stroke, which would have rendered him, as well as the Prussian 1780.

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alliance, unnecessary; and in the execution of this new project, a new career of glory was opened for Catharine, by which her ancient purpose was removed from her mind. But for that very reason Potemkin did not lose sight of it, because he had nothing to gain from the armed neutrality.

36. If the conditions of the peace at Kainardgé, from their very nature, presaged a truce rather than a lasting peace, it was less to be doubted that, after politics had taken this direction, the principal thread of disputes would be broken off. The dominion of the Black sea was apparently the necessary condition of the accomplishment of the leading plan; and this again implied the dominion of the Crimea and the contiguous countries. Thus the relations of this peninsula afforded materials for the demands of Russia, which at last terminated with its subjugation to Russian sway.

The Crimea and the plains of Cuban (little Tartary) a remaining fragment of Ginghis Khan's vast empire, stood from 1441 each under its own khan, from the house of the conqueror. The khans were taken by Mahomed II. in 1474, under the protection of the Porte, which appointed the successors from the reigning house, without exacting tribute. In these nomads the Porte beheld faithful and powerful allies, devoted to it by religion and policy. How often was it assisted by their numerous armies of cavalry! To what indeed could their independence (stipulated of the Porte in the peace of 1774) lead, but to the establishment of a Russian principality, which was also provided for by the other conditions; and

this principality led to complete subjection. Disputes arose with the Porte after the peace, but were allayed by the *Convention explicatoire*, March 10, 1779, by which the Porte acknowledged the khan Sahin Guerai, the protégé of Russia. New disputes arose, and the khan, banished by the Tartars themselves, was reinstated 1782. But the Crimea and Cuban were formally occupied in 1783, and incorporated into the Russian empire, in which transaction the Porte saw itself finally compelled to acquiesce by the treaty of Jan. 8, 1784. By this the river Cuban was agreed upon as the boundary; but most of the Tartars, exasperated and cruelly abused, left the country. Northern states. 1762-1787.

Mémoires du Baron de Tott, etc. (see p. 83.) and VON DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. ii. The monster Paul Potemkin caused thirty thousand Tartars to be massacred.

37. The immediate consequence of this peaceful conquest was the establishment of a navy on the Black sea. Who would not now have expected the accomplishment of the chief project? But the building of the fleet cost time; and the intermediate events in the west, the Bavarian war of succession, the league of the princes, etc. admitted of no precipitation. The whole game of the political relations of the north seemed in general to disappoint almost all calculations, because it was so frequently determined by the personal conferences of the princes. Who was not attracted by Catharine's splendid court, and still more by herself? If Frederic did not attend in person, he at one time sent his second self, his brother prince Henry, at another, the heir to his throne. Gustavus III. displayed the splendour of his genius; Joseph II. came to see; for

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Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a later journey was in reserve! The meeting of such talented princes could not be without consequences; but certainly they were not themselves able to calculate the results beforehand.

It is important for the history of politics to fix the dates of these meetings. Prince Henry's first journey, 1771. Consequence: The first partition of Poland. The second, 1776. Consequence: The confirmation of the alliance with Prussia by the second marriage of the heir to the Russian throne.—Perhaps the project was already started of a new division of Poland! Gustavus III. arrived in 1777. Consequence: Mutual distrust, afterwards leading to war. First meeting of Catharine and Joseph II. at Mohilow, and afterwards at Petersburg, 1780. Consequence: The subsequent alliance against the Porte was concerted, and the scheme for the exchange of Bavaria. The ensuing arrival of the crown prince of Prussia produced nothing but court festivals—and a friendship with the heir apparent.

Ueber die Reise des Kronprinzen. VON DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B ii. in the Appendix to the first part.

38. After Joseph's visit, therefore, Russian policy obtained a fixed direction. The alliance with Prussia was weakened, and that with Austria formed anew. If the armed neutrality kept England aloof, the other leading states were gained by advantageous treaties of commerce; who could contract them like Russia? Potemkin's political influence now rose to its zenith; the consequences were the disputes respecting the Crimea and its subjugation, (see above.) To protect the new conquests required a numerous army; and while Potemkin, raised to the dignity

of field-marshal, was appointed at the same time governor-general of Taurida, he became possessed of a civil and military power, which may at other times have been taken, but has seldom been granted. Northern states. 1762-1787.

Of the number of treaties of commerce that Catharine then concluded, we must mention: that with Denmark, Oct. 19, 1782, (regulating among other things the duties in the Sound to be paid by Russia); with Austria, Nov. 12, 1785. (The privileges of the most favoured nations were mutually accorded. A tariff was made for Hungarian wines, for Russian leather, peltry, etc.); but above all with France, Jan. 11, 1787, (see p. 86,) by which the jealousy of England was excited. They all contained a repetition of the maxims of the armed neutrality.

39. Nothing was wanting but the actual inspection of the empress herself, to give to the new conquest its full importance in the eyes of herself and the world. Catharine's famous journey to Taurida, similar in its pomp to a triumphant procession, was at the same time a homage done to Potemkin. But it was rendered more important by the consummation of the alliance with Austria, for Joseph II. hastened in his travelling carriage to meet her. Jan. to June, 1787.

40. The Tauridian (for Catharine rewarded her favourites after the Roman fashion) thus saw his plans near their accomplishment. Though the conditions of the alliance that was concluded remained a secret, the consequences soon disclosed its reality. Whether a war against the Porte was formally concerted may be doubtful,

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but all preparations were made; and Potemkin, by diplomatic skill, took care that the Porte, notwithstanding its apathy, should soon be the first to declare against Russia.

The general opinion that it was concerted has been denied by SEGUR, *Hist. de Fred. Guill. II.*, Catharine's travelling companion. But did the French ambassador know all that was concerted?

41. In this way a storm was prepared against the Porte, which seemed to forebode its overthrow. But never were the calculations of human foresight more signally disappointed. Many, who imagined themselves strong, lay in the dust; and the state devoted to destruction rose in pride over the ruins of Europe.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE DEATH OF FREDERIC THE GREAT AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE, TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE IMPERIAL THRONE OF FRANCE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE LIBERTY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE. 1786—1820.

Preliminary remarks. 1786-1820.

1. THOUGH the death of Frederic the Great was not an event that constituted a general epoch, it was, however, immediately followed by those great convulsions of states, which gave the ensuing period a character so different from the former. The contemporary world, which lived in it, calls it the revolutionary; but it is as yet too early to decide with what name it will be denoted by posterity, after the lapse of a century. Probably the constitutional; for the struggle after regular but free constitutions, is the thread that guides us through the whole confusion. But who will thus early determine to what end this struggle may at last lead? Whether, as is to be hoped, to regular monarchical or republican constitutions, or to autocratic governments? The elements of either exist in abundance. The most desirable at all times, will be a diversity of constitutions

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adapted to the character and wants of the people. That the same thing is not and will not be suited to all, none but the most short-sighted can deny.

2. The attempts which had been hitherto made to subvert the freedom of the European political system were unsuccessful. At the death of Frederic, the proud structure stood erect, apparently unshaken and firm; if an overthrow was feared, it was in the east, and not in the west. The times however were impending, in which it was to experience severer storms, and, after being thrown down, to rise again from its ruins. After the catastrophe, which disappointed all expectation, it may be easier to unravel its causes. But do not the elements of it lie already in the preceding investigations?

3. He who examines more minutely the interior of the leading states, can not avoid remarking, that the constitutions of the majority of them had by no means continued to improve, but had rather outlived themselves. That of Spain, since the Cortes had ceased, rested on the inquisition and the Catholic religion; that of France, since the disappearance of the states-general, was an autocracy; but at war in itself, and already for a long time involved in a silent internal contest, by disputes with the parliament; that of the republic, always misshapen, now without support, was torn by factions; the German empire, burdened by its tardy forms, was

hardly able to move; that of Prussia was an artificial administration, now deprived of its mainspring, but no constitution; that of Austria, where it had one, was plunged in a reform, which soon proved unsuccessful; Poland and the Porte were in acknowledged anarchy. The efforts of the rulers to obtain unlimited power had overthrown the old national freedom in all the states of the continent; the assemblies of the states had disappeared, or were reduced to mere forms; no where had they been modelled into a true national representation. Preliminary remarks. 1786-1820.

4. But the idea of it not only lived in theory, disseminated and fostered by the first writers of the day, but was seen permanently realised in a neighbouring happy island state. It could not therefore pass away from practical politics, and was necessarily, during the storms of the following period, the polar star, which was ever kept in view in all the aberrations of the times.

5. But it was not merely the relation of the rulers to their subjects, it was no less the relation of the states to each other, which had been altered with the gradual dissolution or transformation of the old feudal constitutions. How little did the present class of citizens, how little did the present nobility resemble those of earlier times? Did the latter still form the nation, or only the principal constituent part of it? Could any one still contest the claims of the former to be regarded as a part of the nation? Did the

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nobility fulfil the obligations, under which they had obtained their great privileges? The more oppressive the burdens of the state became, the louder were the demands, that they should be borne equally by all. Thus in every convulsion, the privileged classes were threatened even more, perhaps, than the princes. And yet the ancient constitutions were founded on this very difference of classes.

6. For the strength of the states no other criterion was known than standing armies. And in reality there hardly was any other. By the perfection, which they had attained, and which made almost equal steps with the growing power of the princes, the line of partition was gradually drawn between them and the nation; they only were armed; the nations were defenceless. What remained but subjection, if the army should be routed and destroyed? Thus the days of Zama and Pydna might again return; and one battle decide the fate of mighty empires.

7. How much more forcibly does this observation apply, if we compare the military with the pecuniary resources, without which the former were utterly dead? And they were indeed almost dead for all practical purposes. Not a single state of the continent was able to wage a great war of any length with its own resources; subsidies or extortions of a new kind alone rendered it possible. The time had thus come, when the carrying of the system too far brought

with it its own punishment. The fearful consequences of this difference must needs have been unfolded at the very first opportunity. Preliminary remarks. 1786-1820.

8. But if these political supports were in a tottering condition, the moral were no less shattered. The corner stone of every political system, the sanctity of legitimate possession, without which there would be only one war of all against all, was gone; politics had already thrown off the veil in Poland; the lust of aggrandisement had prevailed. The unhappy error, encouraged by statistical writers, which places the strength of a state in its physical power, and estimates its increase by square miles, and the revenue in money, had taken deep root. If the system did not fall at once, it was prevented, not by the acknowledged maxims of international law, but by mutable relations. The indissoluble bond, connecting morals and politics, resulted in making egotism the prevailing principle of public as well as of private life.

9. And yet who does not see that a political system, in which pure egotism is the principle, is near its dissolution? Above all, a system of states, so unequal as the European, which had been hitherto upheld only by alliances against the too powerful? Experience soon proved, that alliances, attended by sacrifices, were regarded as foolish by the several cabinets; and yet what are alliances without sacrifices?

10. But new maxims had not only become

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prevalent in the morals of the cabinets; new opinions also were diffused among the nations themselves, which were in opposition to the existing order of things. And do not all human institutions, states, and their constitutions, rest ultimately on opinion? After sophistical arguments in favour of popular sovereignty, as the basis of the state in general, and therefore of the monarchical state also, had been circulated by writers, they had received an apparent confirmation from the independence of North America; and the defenders of America transported them to Europe. Democratic ideas were thus spread and cherished in the midst of the monarchical system; the ready materials for a conflagration, far more formidable than their authors had anticipated, should a burning spark unhappily light upon them. Others had already taken care to profane the popular religion; and what remains sacred to the people, when religion and constitution are profaned?

11. In addition to this was the change of morals, proceeding from alterations that took place in social life among the higher and middle classes, which had a necessary reaction on the public. Instead of natural improvement, its aim was mere pastime; and what ought to have been recreation soon became a daily necessity in the establishment of clubs and similar societies of men. That the foundations of the state can be shaken by the forms of private life, no one

seemed ever to suspect, while, with the exception of the relations of menial service, a social equality was introduced, which stood in direct contradiction with the inequality unavoidable in all monarchical states. Did not this tend immediately to dissolve the tenderest and the strongest ties?

Ueber den Einfluss und die Wirkungen des Zeitgeistes auf die höhern Stände Deutschlands: von E. BRANDES. 1810. A continuation of the work: *Betrachtungen ueber den Zeitgeist in Deutschland.* 1808.—A bitter but true delineation of the dark side of the age.

12. One peculiar feature of these social relations consisted in the formation of secret societies, which arose in most countries after the middle of this century, through the diffusion of freemasonry over the continent of Europe. Foreign as political objects are, or should be, from this society, it was nevertheless exposed to abuse, like every other institution, especially in countries where it was oppressed or persecuted. The dangers apprehended for the states did not proceed so much from freemasonry as from the other societies, which only imitated its form. Of this the society of the Illuminati gave the first striking proof in Germany.

The expression, secret society, denotes either a society which conceals its existence, and thus endeavours to withdraw from the inspection of the state. Such a one, though not always liable to punishment, is always exposed to suspicion. Or it denotes a society, which conceals, not its existence, but its tenets, by delivering them under the mask of symbols.

Preliminary remarks. 1786-1820.

Freemasonry belongs to the latter class. To the former it belongs in those places only, where, contrary to its legitimate destination, it attempts to continue as a society, against the prohibition of the state. But the mode of communicating its tenets is not sufficient to make the tenets themselves suspicious.

13. Added to all this was the turn that literature had taken in all the principal countries of Europe. It had become, in a higher degree, the literature of journals and gazettes, and could not but degenerate in proportion, not only as the number, but also (especially by means of the French Moniteur) as the size of the gazettes increased. The constant ferment in which their periodical appearance enabled them to keep the public mind, banished all interest for other subjects; they were alike the lever of policy and the means of guiding or misguiding public opinion; and thus it might ultimately come to pass, that the question of the preservation of the states was connected with that of the freedom of the press.

14. Threatening as these circumstances were, yet it seemed possible in the usual course of things for every thing to continue as it was; and no one had any presentiment of the impending catastrophe. But in this consisted the danger, that every thing in Europe was calculated for the usual state, while every thing was thrown out of its course, as soon as any unusual complication of circumstances took place.

15. The following period is naturally divided

into three divisions, between which the peace of Campo Formio, (because, from this peace, after Catharine's death, begins the active participation of the north in the disputes of the west, which has subsequently closely united Europe into one political system), the establishment, and the overthrow of the imperial throne of France, constitute the points of separation.

Preliminary remarks. 1786-1820.

As a collection of documents besides the *Recueil* par M. DE MARTENS, vol. i. p. 3. see especially:

Recueil des principaux traités, etc. conclus entre la République Française et les différentes Puissances de l'Europe, depuis 1792 *jusqu' à la paix générale* (par G. GEBHARD), P. i. ii. à Goettingue, 1796. P. iii. iv. à Hambourg et Paris, 1803.

A real practical history of the whole period is reserved for a later generation. The most perfect narrative of the events is to be found in:

F. SAALFELD, *Allgemeine Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, seit dem Anfange der Französischen Revolution:* in four divisions, each in two volumes, the last of which has not yet appeared.

THIRD PERIOD.

From 1786 *to the Peace at Campo Formio,* 1797.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

I. *Public Contests in Europe, to* 1797.

Histoire des principaux évènemens du regne de Fréderic Guillaume II., roi de Prusse ; et tableau politique de l'Europe, depuis 1786 *jusqu'en* 1796, *contenant un précis des Révolutions de Brabant, de Hollande, de Pologne, et de France,* par L. P. Segur l'ainé ; ex-ambassadeur. Paris, 1800, 3 vols.—The title itself shows that it is a general history of the period, attached to that of Frederic William II. The author was the royal French ambassador at Petersburg. The sections which respect the north are therefore of greater value. A prejudice against Prussia and England may naturally enough be expected ; but it is, notwithstanding, one of the best works.

Among the German political journals, the most complete is: *das politische Journal,* (p. 7.) The richest in single interesting essays is: *Minerva,* von v. Archenholz, (3 vols. annually since 1793.)

Public contests in Europe. 1768-1797.

16. Diversified in their origin as were the internal disturbances of the states during this period, there was always manifest in them a struggle after more free constitutions. Those

forms of government which had prevailed hitherto, rested far more on ancient usage than written documents; but for this reason so much more violent must have been the shock of revolutions, for written constitutions never acquire stability till established by prescription. In policy, however, the simplest truths are generally acknowledged with the greatest difficulty; and this explains the erroneous presumption, that not only every thing can be fixed in the original document of a constitution, but also that nothing is necessary but its introduction, to secure its permanency.

Public contests in Europe. 1756-1797.

17. Though the death of Frederic the Great, occurring in a period of profound quiet, produced no immediate perceptible consequences, as his successor retained his ministers, yet the chasm he left was far too great for those consequences not to disclose themselves soon. The chief relations of Europe had been formed by his mind, and maintained by his character; but the latter was inherited by his successor still less than the former. And Frederic had never formed a minister who was competent to take the direction.

18. The first deviation from the policy of his predecessor was an active participation in the Dutch disturbances; the first link in that chain of revolutions, which was to overturn Europe. One step here inevitably involved another. These disturbances had their origin while Frederic yet lived, in the disputes of the Orange and

Public contests in Europe. 1786-1797.

patriotic parties, concerning the rights of the stadtholder, which the patriotic party wished to impair or wholly to abolish. The influence of England and France had fomented these disputes; but Frederic contented himself with recommending a reconciliation. His successor made a family affair a matter of state, and the easy overpowering of the patriots, forsaken as they were by France, led to a new series of relations.

The Dutch disturbances were a result of the germ of corruption in the constitution, modified by the relations of the times. The patriotic party, prevailing in the maritime cities, was something more than the old party of the states, though originating for the most part in it.—Party hatred arose during the war with England, 1780, and the hereditary stadtholder was accused of duplicity. It was increased during and after the peace of 1783 by French and English influence. The patriotic party acquired the superiority, and a defensive alliance of the republic with France was made by Vergennes, Nov. 10, 1785.—Attacks were made on the rights of the stadtholder, and he was removed from the Hague, 1786.—Bodies of armed patriots now made their appearance, a sight altogether new to Europe, which learned the lesson from America! The Orange party was possessed of little internal unity; the patriotic was destitute of adequate leaders and a fixed positive purpose. Who indeed could imagine that the successors of Vergennes († Feb. 13, 1787) would accomplish absolutely nothing!—Prussia intervened and a proclamation was promulgated, July 10, after the procrastinated journey of the wife of the stadtholder, June 29. Possession was easily taken of Holland by a Prussian corps, under the duke of Brunswick, Sept. 1787.

An introduction to the history of the Dutch Republic for the last ten years, reckoning from the year 1777, (by SIR

J. HARRIS, that at time British ambassador; others say, by his secretary Ellis.) London, 1788. By no means a history, but a sketch of the internal relations. Harris himself does not conceal the deficiencies of the Orange party. Public contests in Europe 1786-1797.

Mémoire sur la Révolution de la Hollande, par le citoyen CAILLARD, (then French Chargé-d'affaires at the Hague,) inserted in: SEGUR, *Hist. de Fred. Guill.* vol. i. A very lucid delineation and narration, by a confidant of the patriotic party; and written in the spirit of that party.

19. The natural consequence of this catastrophe to the republic, was the reinstatement of the stadtholder in his old and new rights; but to an extent and with a severity that it almost seemed to be forgotten that there still existed a republic and an opposite party. The continuance of the constitution was, however, to be ensured by strangers, and this naturally led to a triple alliance with England and Prussia, the effects of which, by establishing again the influence of England on the continent, spread in the following years over the rest of Europe, and particularly the north.

An alliance was first made of the two powers with the Republic, and a guarantee of the office of stadtholder and all its rights, April 15, 1788. A defensive alliance was next formed between England and Prussia at Loo, June 13. A mutual guarantee was made of all possessions. Prussia therefore became a guarantee of the English colonies.

20. During these storms in the United Netherlands, a similar spirit of turbulence began to rage in the Austrian Netherlands. It was roused by the plans of innovation of Joseph II.,

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strengthened by his inconsistency; but when the insurrection had proceeded to a declaration of independence, the insurgents quarrelled among themselves, and there was no chief capable of maintaining unanimity. While it was desired in Flanders to retain the old constitution of the states, the democrats in Brabant were clamorous for a popular sovereignty. It was therefore easy for Leopold II., after the death of Joseph, to appease the tumult, particularly as the insurgents saw themselves deceived in their hopes of Prussian assistance.

The disturbances had their origin in 1787, owing to encroachments on the privileges accorded to the states in the *Joyeuse Entrée*, by the introduction of a new constitution of courts, churches, and universities, Tumultuous scenes occurred in several towns; the orders given were recalled, Sept. 2, 1787. But the continued attempts to make changes in the universities of Louvain gave nourishment to the strife between the clergy and the states. Subsidies were refused the emperor, Jan. 1789. The privileges of the states of Brabant were annulled, June 18, 1789. The insurrection was renewed by van der Noot, the patriots were armed, and the imperial troops expelled, July—Nov. A sovereign congress of all the provinces except Luxemburg was erected; and independence declared, Jan. 4, 1790. But internal factions were soon formed; and after Leopold II.'s accession the strife was allayed by the ratification of the ancient privileges at the congress of Reichenbach, Dec. 10.

For want of a good history, the materials which as yet are the best, are contained in the: *Politische Journal*.

21. The efforts at revolution in several small states, such as Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, and

Geneva, which were made at this time, should by no means pass unnoticed, as they are so many proofs of the prevailing spirit. Different as they were in other respects, they all coincided in the circumstance, that a democratic party attempted to overturn the existing order of things. But the manner in which they were suppressed, though by armed mediation, gave a striking evidence of the respect still entertained for the rights even of small states.

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The rebellion in Liege, against the sovereign bishop, was to maintain the rights of the states, Aug. 17, 1789. The imperial chamber issued a mandate, Aug. 17, and the execution was entrusted to the direction of the circle of Westphalia. After some remarkable proceedings, Prussia finally withdrew, April 1790. On this the prince was at last reinstated by Austria, Jan. 1791.—The disturbances in Geneva, caused by the disputes of the *Négatifs* (aristocrats) and *Répresentans*, 1788, but quieted by the new constitution, Feb. 13, 1789, were a consequence of the previous ones of 1782, which had been quelled by the armed mediation of three powers.

Excellent preparatory studies to the history of greater revolutions.

Recherches sur l'histoire de la ci-devant principauté de Liege, (par M. REPELAER VAN DRIEL.) à Liege, 1817, 2 vols.

Tableau historique et politique des Révolutions de Génève dans le 18me *siècle*; (par M. D'IVERNOIS.) à Génève, 1782.

MEINERS, *Briefe ueber die Schweiz*, 1790. B. iv. contains the best accounts of the last disturbances.

22. But what were all these petty commotions in comparison with the eruptions of the desolating volcano, that had arisen about this time in the leading state of western Europe?—Though

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we do not here treat of the internal, but the external history of the *French revolution*, that is, with regard to its influence on the political system of Europe, still the character of the one cannot be adequately described without a proper understanding of the other. It was the peculiarity of the age, that the external relations of the states proceeded from the internal.

23. The prevailing spirit of the age disclosed itself in the convocation of the states-general. Though occasioned by financial necessity, what was this but a restriction of the regal supremacy? What but an innovation on the existing constitution? And the very persons, that held this to be a salutary measure, could not but entertain, from what immediately happened, too well-founded apprehensions for the issue.

24. There were three principal points that necessarily precluded, beforehand, the prospect of a favourable issue. 1st. The measure in question was not confined to a reform or restoration of ancient usages, as was the case elsewhere; but it attempted something wholly new, and consequently had no point of support or stay on which to maintain itself. 2nd. This innovation was to be secured by means of a numerous popular assembly, left to itself, independent of the crown, and surrounded by an untractable populace. And thirdly, if any hope still remained, the idea, derived from the theories of the philosophers, of the entire or the greatest possible

separation of the executive and legislative powers, was amply sufficient to frustrate it.

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The new order of things was at once established immediately after the opening of the States, May 5, 1789, when the third state declared itself a national assembly. Thus there actually remained of the monarchy only the name; and the abolition of feudal rights in the tumult of the night of the 4th of August, (a spectacle without its parallel in the history of the world,) founded the popular sovereignty on the ruins of the old constitution,—and, even when this fell, still established a new futurity for France.

25. The reaction of this grand catastrophe on the rest of Europe could at first be moral only, not political. Who could have presumed to prescribe aught to France, respecting its internal affairs? But its moral influence on foreign countries was threatening, from the fact that it must infallibly inflame the hatred of the classes of society there, as in France. Who could say what might be the consequences of the general enthusiasm, quickened as it was by the general voice of authors, and which few individuals had the courage to resist?

At the head of the few who *did* resist in England and Germany, stands:

EDMUND BURKE, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London.* 1790, 8vo. (Besides some smaller writings of the same kind in his *Works*, vol. iii. iv.) Written with all the force with which the conviction of the actual danger of his countrymen could inspire the British Demosthenes.—In Germany:

Politische Betrachtungen ueber die Französischen Revolution. 1790: (before Burke;) and:

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Ueber einige bisherige Folgen der Französischen Revolution für Deutschland, von E. BRANDES; 2te Ausgabe, 1793.—Cool reasoning at a time of general giddiness.

For forming a judgment both of the subject and the principal works, may be recommended:

Untersuchungen uber die Französische Revolution, nebst kritischen Nachrichten von den merkwürdigsten Schriften, von A. W. REHBERG. 1793.

Among the deluge of French works, those of NECKAR and his talented daughter: *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, par MAD. DE STAEL-HOLSTEIN. Paris, 1818, 3 vols. are the first in celebrity, but not equally so in point of internal value.

26. A political structure, like the ancient French, could hardly be thrown down at once, without injuring others. The first loss befel the German empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. Several princes who had possessions in Alsace lost theirs, and the emperor and empire took their part. Prudence at least, if not justice, would seem to dictate a compromise. But in vain! and there was no greater contrast than the new French, compared with the old German mode of doing business.

27. The numerous emigrations from France, the reception and projects of the emigrants in several neighbouring German countries, soon became more dangerous to the quiet of Europe than the contests which had occasioned them. Where did not emigrants bring with them their hopes and passions; and especially the emigrants from the higher and even the highest classes? The restoration of the ancient order of

things, though by means of a war, was their wish; and their efforts were to make their cause the cause of Europe. An eventual concert, however, for the common defence of some German princes at Pilnitz, was the only expedient adopted. Few would be disposed to find fault with them in consequence, and yet this very expedient gave rise to mistrust.

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A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz between Leopold II., Frederic William II., and the elector of Saxony, Aug. 27, 1791. But unhappily the count of Artois came, uninvited; a declaration, and that a very indefinite one, was all that he obtained.

28. As the new constitution of Louis XVI. was completed and accepted, the danger of a war seemed removed, a circular by the emperor Leopold II. himself, expressly notified this to the courts. Worse constitutions had subsisted much longer; but could it be seriously believed, —and yet it was believed,—that all was ended by this paper act? The transition from partial freedom to that which was called perfect freedom, was inevitable, with so passionate, and now so excited a nation; and how could this be effected without the most violent convulsions? The conflict of factions soon became milder than before, after the Jacobins acquired the predominance in the second national convention, and the subversion of the throne was the object in view. They felt that a foreign war was necessary for their projects, (what policy could from this time have

Sept. 13, 1791.

1792.

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averted it?) and Austria, where Francis II. succeeded, after the unexpected death of Leopold II., was their nearest aim. Louis XVI. was obliged to yield; and accordingly he declared war on Austria.

March 1, 1792.

April 20.

After the dissolution of the *Assemblée constituante*, Sept. 30, 1791, the *Assemblée législative* was convened till Sept. 21, 1792, altogether under the influence of the Jacobins.

29. The conduct of the various cabinets themselves can hardly be called faultless. The fearful scenes in France were so new, that they lay wholly without the circle of their former policy. Kaunitz himself, the Nestor of ministers, had never beheld any thing like them; and his conduct showed how little he was able to estimate the power of a great popular faction. In this consisted a principal advantage of the democratic party, that they banished the whole system of cabinet politics out of their sphere.

30. It seemed almost necessary for the flame, when once in a blaze, to spread widely. Every passion was kindled; every political relation was altered; old foes became friends; old connections were torn asunder. The cause of Louis XVI. seemed to be the cause of kings; and a king was about to place himself at its head, when he was snatched away by assassination.

31. The connection of Austria and Prussia gave the first proof of this change of relations. But the unsuccessful expedition to Champagne, undertaken in common, only accelerated the full

eruption of the volcano. The royal throne of high antiquity was formally overthrown; and a democratic republic, a republic which loudly proclaimed the diffusion of its maxims, suddenly stood in the midst of the monarchico-political system of Europe. It was a war not merely against nations, but against constitutions.

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The Russian and Prussian forces were combined under the duke of Brunswick, July 1792, reinforced by Hessians and emigrants.—False representations were circulated by the latter respecting the situation of things in France. Nothing more than a second campaign to Holland was expected.—The duke of Brunswick issued a manifesto, July 25; and the French throne was subverted, Aug. 10. The National Convention (*Convention nationale*) assembled Sept. 21, 1792, till Oct. 1795, and France was immediately declared a republic; when the army, having pressed forward as far as Valmy, was forced to retreat, being opposed by Dumouriez, and still more by nature.

32. The immediately ensuing conquest of the Austrian Netherlands showed at the same time the altered nature of the war, as well as prepared for its further extension. Had not the political system thus far principally depended on these provinces? Did not the bulwark of Holland fall with them? Must not England have been startled? One battle decided their fate, which at other times several campaigns had been unable to decide; and men, hitherto unknown, soon took the lead as famous generals. The bloodless seizure of Savoy afforded likewise a sample of the new republican international law.

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A battle was fought at Genappe, Nov. 5, and Belgium was conquered, after Custine had seized upon unguarded Mentz in the heart of Germany, Oct. 21.—Of Savoy and Nice possession was taken in Sept. without a declaration of war, and they were forthwith incorporated with France in October.

Jan. 21, 1793.

33. But the grand tragedy at Paris was more influential than these conquests. The head of the guiltless Louis fell under the axe. It will ever be vain in politics to attempt to stifle all feeling, so long as princes continue to be men. Though the most vehement abhorrence constituted no cause of war, it yet troubled every negotiation. And how should princes negotiate with a Convention, which loudly summoned their subjects to insurrection?—All Europe, therefore, necessarily tended to a great combination against the republic.

Nov. 19, 1792.

Mémoires secrètes pour servir à l'histoire de la dernière année du regne de Louis XVI. par BERTRAND et MOLLEVILLE, *ministres d'état à cette époque.* Londres, 1793, 3 vols.—Few could know, and none have said, more on the subject.

34. Great combinations have rarely been successful and of long continuance; but none had ever been so unfortunate as those which the world was now to behold. Much may be explained by the revolutionary measures of the enemy, much by the disinclination of the people, but not all. Within themselves also lay the causes of destruction. Was it a vague suspicion of this, which induced the age to term them, not alliances, but coalitions?

35. One of these causes lay in the disproportion of the financial to the military powers of the states (p. 160). Every power, with or without a treasury, found itself exhausted after a short effort; and they were enabled to persist, not by their own resources (the revolutionary they could not apply) but only by foreign subsidies. Did not this paralyse every effort? Of what use to the giant were his arms, if others had first to lift them for him? Public contests in Europe. 1786-1797.

36. Not a single European state, with the exception of England, could offer these subsidies. This country was, therefore, not only the bond of all, but it also acquired the direction of the war. It was however somewhat unsuited for this part, from its geographical situation, and still more from its separate interests. Its objects were not always those of the allies; its advantages were not theirs: nor were theirs its losses. Constantly averting the danger from itself by the war on land, it was readily consoled for those losses, if war only continued. Yet did its naval victories and conquests beyond the ocean essentially weaken the power of the enemy? And did they give the confederates a compensation for their sacrifices?

What are subsidies in themselves but a pecuniary aid to the allies whose preservation is our advantage? Thus Maria Theresa and Frederic obtained subsidies, and yet defended their own cause. On the other hand, what a revolution of political relations must take place, when subsidies become the principal resource?

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37. But a more dangerous cause of dissolution consisted in the general egotism, proceeding from the policy of the states to round off their territory. No connection can exist without mutual sacrifices. How much more so, when the original object, the preservation of the present states of things, was forgotten amidst the hopes of aggrandisement? And when, moreover, the prospect of acquisitions, whether at the expense of a neighbour, or even an actual ally,—(and who had more to give or lend than victorious France?)—became an inducement to defection? Thus fearfully did morality avenge itself for its banishment from politics!—When misfortune came, not one possessed a friend in whom he could trust!

38. If these internal causes were sufficient to dissolve the connections, this was equally promoted by the want of men who were competent to hold them together. No Eugene, no Marlborough appeared; even talent, hated by mediocrity, could not maintain itself; while in the revolutionary states, the most violent and energetic men forced themselves into the highest offices.

39. As the founder, and as the head of these combinations, history has only to mention William Pitt. His name lives in the annals of Great Britain and in the history of Europe. More correct than others in his estimate of the danger, and no less great in character than in

talents, he never capitulated with political maxims. But his situation did not permit him to be, like William III., the soul of a great alliance. This is not in the power of a financier, but only of him who is at once a statesman and a general. Whatever could be accomplished by gold and perseverance, he accomplished; but he was often faulty in his choice of means and persons, and he either could not or would not always take that elevated view, which places the general interest of Europe above the particular interest of England.

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Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the House of Commons, vols. i. iii. London, 1808. The anti-revolutionary maxims of this great man may be fully learned from the two last volumes.

40. Under such auspices began the first coalition. The continued connection of Austria and Prussia was reinvigorated by the declaration of war by the Convention against England, the hereditary Stadtholder, and soon afterwards against Spain; Sardinia had already been attacked; Portugal, Naples, Tuscany, and the Pope were involved. How could the German empire, already suffering hostilities, have resisted the united influence of Austria and Prussia? The accession of Sweden was prevented only by the murder of Gustavus III.; no one threatened more loudly, or performed less, than Catharine. With the exception of some states of secondary rank, and, for the present, of the

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Porte, no neutrals were now to be found in Europe.

War was declared against England, after it had refused to recognise the republic, and against the stadtholder, as its ally, Feb. 1, 1793; against Spain, March 7. The German empire declared war, (Hanover opposing it) March 22. England, as now the central point, formed alliances with Russia, March 25; with Sardinia, April 25; with Spain, May 25; with Naples, July 12; with Prussia, July 14; with Austria, August 30; with Portugal, Sept 29; with Tuscany, Oct. 28; besides subsidiary treaties with several German princes.

Ueber den Ursprung und Character des Krieges gegen die Französische Revolution, von FRIEDR. GENZ. Berlin, 1801. The most acute analysis, considered on the side of *right*.

Historische Uebersicht der Politik Englands und Frankreichs von der Conferenz zu Pilnitz bis zur Kriegserklärung gegen England, von HERBERT MARSH. Leipz. 1799.—A diplomatic justification of England.

41. This war was to decide, therefore, not, as usual, the conquest of a province—it was nothing less than the preservation or overthrow of the existing states. It was not merely a conflict of arms, but of clashing political elements. As far as the armies of the republic reached, (and who could fix their bounds?) an express decree of the Convention announced

Dec. 17, 1792.

the introduction of the sovereignty of the people. The danger, however, seemed to be diminished in the first campaign, as several victories of the allies confined the French armies once more to their own territory.

The Austrians under Coburg gained a victory at Aldenhoven, March 1, 1793; at Neerwinden, March 18; the

Netherlands were reconquered; Dumouriez went over, April 4. A victory was obtained at Farmars, May 23, and the French border fortresses were taken, especially Valenciennes, July 28. Mentz was invested and reduced by the Prussians and Hessians, July 22. Alsace was invaded, and a battle fought at Kaiserslautern, Nov. 28. But a retreat followed in Dec. —. The Spanish penetrated into Roussillon in June. Public contests in Europe. 1786-1797.

La vie privée et politique du Dumouriez. á Hambourg. T. i.—iii. It goes to the end of 1792. As a continuation for 1793:

Mémoires du général Dumouriez écrites par lui-même. 1794. T. i. ii. Compare:

Corréspondance du général Miranda avec le général Dumouriez. á Paris, 1794.

42. Rarely however has success been more fatal for the victors than here! While ideas of conquest usurped the place of the original object, they excited a resistance of despair; which, calling forth a reign of terror with all its cruelties and all its vigour, sanctioned at the same time a maxim, more momentous and fearful than a series of victories, *that every citizen is a soldier.* With one blow it annihilated in the leading state of Europe, the system of standing armies; was it credible, that under such circumstances the others could exist? May 31, 1793. Aug. 16.

The Committee of Public Safety *(Comité du salut public)* was established April 6, 1793, till July 27, 1794, consisting of eleven members, Robespierre, Barrere, St. Just, Carnot, etc., with dictatorial power over persons and property. After the fall of the Girondists, (the more moderate party,) May 31, the Revolutionary Tribunal was instituted throughout France,

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and made daily sacrifices. The armies remained the only safe place of refuge.

43. War, and the military art, therefore, necessarily acquired an entirely new aspect. The old tactics found an application indeed in single cases; but they were no longer practised in general; and the armies of the republic were more speedily formed, in proportion as the new system became simplified. Soldiers of low degree were soon famous as generals; and the next campaign, opening an access to Holland by the
1794. recovery of the Netherlands, was, on this side, decisive for the future. Holland was conquered, under favour of the patriotic party. The stadtholder fled to England, and Holland was changed into a single and indivisible Batavian republic.

The English were routed in 1793 at Hondschoote, Sept. 8, in consequence of their partial attack on Dunkirk.—Pichegru achieved a victory at Tournay, May 22, 1794, and Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26. The allies subsequently fell back upon the frontiers of Holland; and then retreated to Germany; Pichegru crossed on the ice, Dec. 27, and all Holland was conquered in Jan.—The contest on the Upper Rhine was bloody; battles were fought at Lautern, July 15 and Sept. 20, but here too the Austrians and Prussians retreated beyond the Rhine in Oct.—On the Spanish frontier, the French penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, in Nov.

44. The conquest of Holland, then perhaps the richest country of Europe, attached it thenceforth to France; secured the possession of Belgium; excluded the army of England from

the continent; and altogether changed the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. Formerly it would alone have sufficed to subvert the whole system of Europe; whereas, now it was only a single act in the great drama.

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A treaty of amity was concluded between the French and Batavian republics, May 16, 1795. Conditions: *a*. Payment of one hundred millions of guilders. *b*. Relinquishment of Dutch Flanders, in consideration of a future compensation. *c*. Use in common of the harbour of Vlissingen.

45. The most important consequence however, was the change of the relations of England. Its actual participation in the war on land ceased; it had nothing more to lose on the continent. It inherited the trade of Holland, and the war now denounced on it, opened a prospect to the conquest of its colonies. Carefully as it encouraged the war, it was less interested in the course of it on land.

46. But the seeds of dissension had already been springing up among the allies of the continent. The most upright personal connection of the monarchs in the cabinet, as well as in the army, were unable to eradicate the distrust of Austria and Prussia, nourished as it was for almost half a century by Frederic himself; and the consequences had been but frequently and too severely felt. When do not one-sided views in politics at last punish themselves?

47. Added to this there was, in the case of Prussia, an exhaustion, so rapid and complete,

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that it can hardly be explained even by the extravagant management of Frederic William II. Not a fourth of the army was used. And before quite two years were passed, debts had taken the place of a full treasury. Provision for the army was demanded from the frontier circles of the German empire; and new subsidies were received from England, apparently not for the sake of the war but of the money.

A subsidiary treaty was signed at the Hague between Prussia and England, April 19, 1794.

48. On the other hand, the double maxim was adopted by the Convention, to conclude only a separate peace, and not to terminate the war till the Rhine was made the boundary. What materials of serious consideration for the successor of Frederic the Great! But the German empire was not Prussia; the losses of the one and the other were not the same; Prussia had even hopes of gaining at the expense of its ecclesiastical fellow-states.—Peace was signed at Basle; and the line of demarcation fixed for the neutrality of the north of Germany.

Conditions of the peace at Basle, April 5, 1795. *a.* Until the arrangements to be made at the peace with the empire, France remained in possession of the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. *b.* France promised to admit the mediation of Prussia for the other states of the German empire, with respect to acceding to the peace. *c.* No hostile marches should be made through the Prussian provinces.—Hesse Cassel concluded a formal peace for itself Aug. 28, the line of de-

marcation having been previously drawn, May 17, after the accession of Hanover, Saxony, etc.

The negotiators at Basle were: citizen Barthèlemy, and the minister Baron von Hardenberg.

49. In this manner, without having attained the principal object of the war, which was the suppression of revolutionary principles, Prussia, together with the north of Germany, withdrew from the coalition. Half the empire had made peace! Meanwhile a union was formed for mutual defence; and it seemed to be the proper moment for reviving the last idea of Frederic the Great, and making Prussia the centre of a grand confederacy. But this required a separation from the German empire; and although the chief step was already taken, the name of it was held in terror. And whence could have been derived that confidence, which is the bond of every confederacy, when the new partition of Poland (see below), had just then been accomplished? Nuremberg was occupied to its gates; and the secret compact with the Convention, by which Prussia was to be indemnified at the expense of its own fellow-states, was soon no secret.

Prussia made a secret compact with France Aug. 5, 1796. Conditions: Preliminary consent was given to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; Prussia was to be indemnified by secularizations in Munster and elsewhere, according to convenience and agreement; for Orange in Wurzburg and Bamberg.

50. But another ally, Spain likewise, soon

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seceded from the coalition. Its accession had been occasioned by family relations; it soon had to perceive, that it could only lose by the war, and had nothing to gain; and the conclusion of the peace was too much promoted by the actual interest of France, to be liable to great difficulties.

Peace was concluded between France and Spain at Basle, July 22, 1795. Conditions: *a.* Restitution to Spain of all the conquests made. *b.* On the other hand, Spain relinquished to France its portion of the island St. Domingo. Previous to the peace with Spain and Prussia, the Convention had concluded peace with the Grand duke of Tuscany, Feb. 9. as if it were to show that princes *could* conclude peace with it.

The negotiators at Basle were: citizen Barthèlemy and don Yriarte.

51. But the half ruined coalition was not to be altogether disunited. The continuation of war on the continent, whatever might be its course, was too important for England in order to pursue its plans. The war was prosecuted, for the most part, at its cost, in every country and on every sea. Who did not solicit money? Who did not obtain money? Vast loans (posterity will scarcely credit their amount) were necessary; and in a few years the sum of the national debt, and with it the burdens of the nation, were doubled. How was this possible unless the income of the nation should likewise be doubled.

An enquiry concerning the rise and progress, the redemption and the present state of the National Debt of Great Britain,

by ROB. HAMILTON. Edinburgh, 1814. This work gives the most exact and authentic information respecting the whole history of the British debt.

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Owing to the loans made by Pitt during the war of the Revolution, the funded debt had increased at the peace of Amiens from 257 to 567 millions of pounds sterling, of which the annual interest amounted to twenty millions. But the public credit, supported by the sinking fund, did not waver.

52. But this rapid increase could not spring from its own soil; it could only proceed from foreign trade. To promote this by excluding others from it, as far as possible, was therefore the main object of exertion. Thus Pitt changed the whole foundation of the British power; for which, indeed, the possession of India had long been preparing. Instead of resting as before on the cultivation of its own soil and a few colonies, its present support was foreign commerce, embracing every quarter of the globe. The annihilation of hostile and the suppression of neutral trade, (in so far as it was not even required,) were therefore the fundamental maxims; and England was thereby placed in an entirely new relation with the continent. Thus the spirit of the mercantile system was here also triumphant; and the war of the revolution was a commercial war, almost as much as it was a war against constitutions.

The commercial oppressions practised on neutrals proceeded: *a*. From the plan of Pitt (the first of his mistakes) to reduce France by famine. Hence the nature of contraband was extended, and the importation of all kinds of provisions

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forbidden, June, 1793. *b.* From the extension of the blockade system; since not only actual blockades, but the mere declaration to that effect, as applied to a whole coast as well as to single harbours, was to prove a real state of blockade. *c.* from an extension of the practice of searching vessels, even when under neutral convoy. *d.* From the regulations laid down respecting the trade of neutrals with the colonies of the enemy. The rule of 1756 (see p. 41) was first renewed 1793, and an entire prohibition declared. At the remonstrances of the Americans, Jan. 1794, it was limited to the direct trade of neutrals from the colonies to Europe; and in 1798, it was remitted in favour of European neutrals trading to their own ports.

Ueber das Bestreben der Völker neuerer Zeit, sich einander in Seehandel recht wehe zu thun, von JOH. G. BÜSCH. *(Umarbeitung der Abhandlung von der Zerrüttung des Seehandels)*. Hamburg, 1800. On very liberal principles, but deficient in method.

Essai concernant les armateurs, les prises, et surtout les reprises, par M. DE MARTENS. Goettingue, 1795. Containing also a critical history of privateering.

Handbuch ueber das praktische Seerecht der Engländer und Franzosen, von FR. JOH. JACOBSEN. Hamburg, 1803. 2 Thle. An interesting exposition of a very complicated subject.

War in disguise, or the frauds of the neutral flags. London, 1806. Undisguised British maritime orthodoxy, too rigorously asserted in the estimation even of English writers themselves.

53. The sole dominion of the seas and the ensuing conquest of the enemy's colonies, were the conditions under which alone the British system could be maintained during such a war. The reduction of the French marine by the revolution facilitated not a little the victories of England over the hostile squadrons. At the

end of this period the French and Dutch navies were more than half destroyed, and the most important colonies were already in British hands. Public contests in Europe. 1786-1797.

Toulon was taken and occupied, Aug. 28.—Dec. 21, 1793, and the fleet there carried off or destroyed. Naval victories were gained over the French: at Ushant under Howe, June 1, 1794; at Savona under Hotham, March 14, 1795; at L'Orient under Bridport, June 23; at the Hieres islands, July 13. Over the Dutch, Aug. 16, 1796, in Saldanha Bay under Elphinstone; at Camperdown under Duncan, Oct. 11, 1797. Over the Spanish under Jervis at Cape St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797.—Conquests in the West Indies: several places on St. Domingo were occupied 1793—1796, which however it was afterwards found necessary to evacuate; Tobago, April 15, 1793; Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, March and April 1794. In the East Indies: Pondicherry, April 23, 1793.—From the Dutch, Ceylon; Malacca; their establishments on the Malabar coast, August 1795. The Cape, Sept. 16. Demerara and Essequibo, April 1796; the Moluccas, 1796.—From Spain, only the island of Trinidad was taken, Feb. 18, 1797.

54. After the secession of Prussia and Spain, England redoubled its exertions, in order to hold together the remainder of the coalition, and if possible to reinforce it by the adjunction of Russia; the more so, since it also had at heart the renewal of the treaty of commerce, which had now expired. It succeeded indeed in both; and after the triple alliance signed with Austria and Russia, a new treaty of commerce with Russia was effected. But an active co-operation (with the exception of sending a squadron to

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England, the very thing that was least needed,) Catharine did not find advisable.

As early as Feb. 18, 1795, a defensive alliance was entered into between England and Russia, with a mutual guarantee of all possessions; and May 20, between England and Austria. Both were made the basis of a triple alliance, concluded Sept. 28, the conditions of which were not exactly known.—The treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, Feb. 21, 1797, with still greater privileges than in 1766.

55. Thus the burden of the war on the continent always fell on Austria in connection with Sardinia and the states of the south of Germany. The war itself however seemed to languish, nor was it till autumn renewed on the Upper Rhine, with success on the side of Austria, and thus a truce was effected before the end of the year.

The French armies under Pichegru were driven back (perhaps by agreement) across the Rhine; and Mentz was invested by Clairfait, Oct.—A truce was made with Austria, Dec. 30.

56. The course of the internal affairs of France, after the downfal of Robespierre and his faction, had in the mean time produced more moderate sentiments, and subsequently a new constitution; by which a more permanent order of things was to be established. The executive power was committed to a directory of five members, while the legislative was to be administered by an assembly divided into two chambers, the Council of Elders, and the Council of Five Hundred, a kind of Upper and Lower House.

This entire separation soon necessarily engendered strife between the two. But of how many other evils were not the elements contained in this constitution, so much extolled as the result of high wisdom, and soon afterwards forced upon the acceptance of the daughter-states! Nothing essential was gained in the relations with foreign countries by these innovations, while the revolutionary system itself continued in full force.

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The new constitution was introduced, the directory installed, and the legislative body opened, after the dissolution of the National Convention, Oct. 28, 1795.

57. Henceforward, the peace of the continent seemed to depend on that with Austria. To oblige this country to sue for it, by penetrating into the heart of its states, was consequently the object of the directory, which was to be effected by three armies, pressing forward from the Upper Rhine, from the Lower Rhine, and from Italy. Such a complex plan, difficult in itself to execute, must be far more so in Germany, while the fastnesses of the Rhine were in the hands of the Germans. Austria also succeeded in finding a general in its own imperial house, in the person of the archduke Charles, who soon enjoyed the full confidence of the army. To him, Austria was then indebted for its preservation.

General Jourdan crossed the Lower Rhine and penetrated into the Palatinate; and general Moreau from the Upper Rhine into Bavaria, and a truce was made with Baden, Wir-

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temberg, etc. June and July, 1796. But the archduke gained a victory over Jourdan at Amberg, Aug 24, and Wurzburg, Sept. 3.—Moreau made his celebrated retreat across the Rhine at Huningen, though obliged to fight his way at every step, Oct.

58. But the fate of Austria was not to be decided in Germany. Italy, hitherto of secondary importance, now became, through altered relations, the principal theatre of the war; far more however, through the high spirit of the young general to whom the command there was entrusted. One campaign gave him Italy, the second, peace. But the age regarded him as something more than the mere conqueror and peace maker, and erred only where he himself desired it to err.

In the first campaign of Napoleon Buonaparte, after accepting the chief command at Nice, March 30, 1796, he gained a victory at Monte Notte, April 12; at Millesimo, April 15; and at Mendovi over the Piedmontese, April 22.—He forced Sardinia to solicit an armistice, April 28; and a separate peace was concluded, May 15. Terms: *a.* It should surrender Savoy and Nice, and *b.* allow the French to occupy the strongest fortresses.—Buonaparte pursued the Austrians, forced a passage over the bridge of Lodi, May 10, and conquered the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua.

Campagnes du général Buonaparte en Italie pendant les années IV. et V. par un officier general. Paris, 1797. T. i. ii.

59. These victories decided the fate of the rest of Italy. The dukes of Parma and Modena, the pope and the king of Naples had to purchase

their armistices and peace. But if the dominion of France in Italy had been acquired by arms, it was to be confirmed by policy. The means of doing this was the formation of a new republic, fashioned according to the model of France, out of the Austrian and papal provinces, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic.

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A truce was granted to Parma, May 9; to Modena, May 17; to the pope, June 13, in consideration of payment of money and the surrender of works of art; and then, by the peace at Tolentino, on Feb. 19, 1797, Bologna and Ferrara were relinquished, and all pretensions to Avignon renounced; a truce was granted to Naples, June 5, which was afterwards changed into an advantageous peace, Oct. 10. Genoa put itself under French protection, Oct. 19; and Corsica, having previously (June 1794) been occupied by the English, was evacuated by them, but on the other hand, Elba was occupied, July 9.

60. The revolutionary system was thus made to embrace the whole of Italy; and the possession of the principal fortress, Mantua, was now the point on which the execution of the ulterior plans against Austria depended. The present century had never yet beheld a conflict so obstinate as that for Mantua. Four times Austria attempted to send relief; four times its armies were routed!—The fortress at length fell; and the way to Austria stood open.

Mantua was besieged from July 1796 to Feb. 1797. The first attempt to succour it was made by the undaunted Wurmser; defeated at Brescia and the Lago di Garda, 3rd and 5th of August. He advanced again, but was again defeated at Roveredo and Bassano, 4th and 9th of September;

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but Wurmser, cut off from retreat, fought his way to Mantua. The third attempt was made by Alvinzi. After a battle, which lasted three days, he was routed at Arcola, 15th to 19th November. The last attempt was made under the same general, and a battle was fought at Rivoli, January 14, 1797. Mantua capitulated, Feb. 2.

March, 1797.

61. Buonaparte left Italy, and, crossing the Alps, penetrated into the interior of Austria as far as the Muhr, after several battles; while Moreau and Hoche were again to advance across the Rhine. It seemed as if a violent contest must decide the fate of the imperial city. But when the sword was about to decide, policy found an expedient; it was agreed to conclude peace at the expense of a third.

62. Venice was, for the present, destined to be the victim. Lost in stupor for a century, this republic had resorted, in the conflict of the more powerful, to neutrality, the usual defence of weak states. She had long outlived herself; but her fall first disclosed her utter weakness. She was not only without energy, but without counsel. She fell the victim of convenience and the desire of contiguity of possessions; but apart from this, how could a constitution subsist, which stood in the most direct contradiction to the prevailing maxims of the age?

Since the year 1718 (vol. i. p. 297) the history of the political system of Europe has offered no opportunity of mentioning Venice. A peace of seventy-nine years had gradually matured, in the ruling classes, all the evils of an indolent

apathy, so that not even an armed neutrality could have been carried into effect. Public contests in Europe. 1786-1797.

TENTORI, *Raccolta ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della republica di Venezia corredata di critiche osservazioni.* T. i. ii. 1800. Valuable materials for the future historian. Compare P. DARU, *Histoire de la Republique de Venise.* T. v. 1819.

63. It was not however a definitive peace, but only the *preliminaries* (by no means without reason, as was shown by the result) that were concluded at Leoben on the Muhr. Every thing conceded in the preliminaries was not repeated in the definitive peace.

Preliminaries were signed at Leoben, April 18, 1797. The principal stipulations were: *a.* That Austria should resign all its rights in the Belgic provinces to France, and recognise the boundaries of France, fixed by the constitutional laws. *b.* A congress should be convened for the purpose of concluding peace with the German empire, assuming its integrity as the basis. *c.* That Austria should renounce its possessions beyond the Oglio, and receive in exchange the portion of the Venetian territory between the Oglio, the Po, and the Adriatic sea; besides Venetian Dalmatia and Istria. *d.* Immediately after the ratification of the definitive peace, Austria should likewise receive the fortresses of Palma Nova, Mantua, Peschiera, and some castles. *e.* The republic of Venice should have Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara as an indemnification. *f.* Austria should recognise the Cisalpine (at first Cispadane) Republic, to be formed of the ceded provinces.

The complete treaty, with the secret articles, was first made public in POSSELT, *Annalen*, 1804. st. xii.

64. Venice was overpowered, and its former constitution annulled. The provinces agreed

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upon were immediately occupied by Austria, and the remainder, with the capital, by France. Long negotiations were necessary to decide its final fate.

The French declared war against Venice, under the ostensible pretext of an insurrection, which had broken out in Verona, May 3. The aristocracy was abolished, and a popular sovereignty established, May 12. The city was occupied by French troops, May 16.—From thence the Grecian isles belonging to Venice were occupied, Corfu, Cephalonia, St. Mauro, Zante, and Cerigo, by a French-Venetian flotilla, June 28. In the preliminaries they had not even been mentioned.

65. The state of affairs intervening between the preliminaries and the definitive peace, could scarcely be more fluctuating than it was here! What ample materials still remained for negotiation! But how grand a prospect was opened to the general, who was the soul of the war, and no less so of the pacification? Like Pompey of old, the arbiter of Asia after the Mithridatic war, Buonaparte had to regulate the affairs of Italy In the erection of the Cisalpine Republic was seen the founder of states; and he had a powerful influence on the changes of the constitutions of the other Italian states. But his views were not confined to Italy. Switzerland stood in anxious expectation; a Polish legion was formed; and how far was it to Egypt?

The Cisalpine Republic was proclaimed, consisting of Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, to which Brescia and Mantua were soon added, June 28.—The Genoese republic was changed into a Ligurian, with a democratic consti-

tution, under the direction of the French minister Faipoult, May 22—31. Great democratic commotions took place in Piedmont, the states of the church, etc.

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66. But the relations in the west of Europe were also changed; for Spain had returned to its ancient connection with France, and the favourite, don Godoi, duke of Alcudia, (Principe de la paz,) who was devoted to the interest of France, from this time guided the helm of state with almost unlimited power. The immediate consequence of it was the participation in the war against England; but for the future also, the fate of Spain was so bound to that of France by the treaty of alliance, that it depended at least on the latter alone, how far Spain should partake in its wars.

A treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Spain, Aug. 19, 1798. 1. An alliance offensive and defensive in all wars. 2. In the present, however, only against England. 3. Arrangements as to the aid to be afforded on sea and land.—Spain declared war against England, Oct. 5.—Trinidad was lost, Feb. 18, 1797; but the attacks of the English on Porto Rico, April 17, and on Teneriffe, in July, were repelled.

67. Notwithstanding this extension of the war, the horizon appeared to brighten after the preliminaries of Leoben. Austria continued to negotiate; and England, now without allies on the continent, deemed itself also bound to negotiate. But while the hopes of pacification were augmenting, they had to be partially annihilated again by a new revolution in the French autho-

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rities. Much sooner than had been supposed, it was ascertained that no government could be less adapted to the national character, than the many-headed directorial government.

Negotiations were commenced at Lille, July—Sep. 17, by lord Malmesbury, (the same person had previously attempted them in vain at Paris, Oct.—Dec. 1796.) But after the revolution of Sept. 4, (Fructidor 18,) in which the evils of the directorial constitution manifested themselves sooner than was expected, and by which the minority of the directory and the legislative body was displaced, and a part of them transported, the pacific negotiations with England were broken off.—A short time before, peace had been concluded with Portugal, Aug. 20; but it was now renounced by France, Oct. 26.

Recueil de toutes les pièces officielles, relatives à la négociation de Lille, Oct. 1797.

68. The case was entirely different with regard to the negotiations of peace with Austria. They were, and continued to be, in the hands of the peace-maker, not of the directory; peace was made because he wished it, and as he wished it. For half a year it was negotiated at Milan; and when it was finally concluded at Campo Formio, near Udine, and the secret articles were afterwards made public, the length of the negotiations was satisfactorily explained!

Peace between France and Austria, concluded Oct. 17, 1797. Conditions: *a.* Austria renounced all its claims to the Netherlands in favour of France. *b.* Austria obtained the territory of Venice, from the Lago di Garda, the city of Venice itself, Istria, Dalmatia with the islands, and Bocca di Cattaro. *c.* France acquired the Venetian Greek islands, and the pos-

sessions in Albania. *d.* Austria acknowledged the Cisalpine Republic. *e.* A congress was to be convened at Rastadt for making peace with the empire. *f.* Austria was to indemnify the duke of Modena with Breisgau.—Secret conditions: *a.* Austria acquiesced in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine from Basle to the confluence of the Rhine and Nethe at Andernach, with the city and fortress of Mayence. *b.* The navigation of the Rhine was to be common to both parties. *c.* France engaged to intercede that Austria might obtain Salzburg, and the part of Bavaria between this, Tyrol, and the Inn and Salza. *d.* Austria agreed to relinquish Frickthal in the peace of the empire. *e.* A mutual compensation for all that France should hereafter obtain in the German empire. *f.* Mutual guarantee that Prussia should make no further acquisitions, upon the restoration of its possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. The injured princes and states on the left bank of the Rhine were to receive indemnifications in Germany. *g.* Within twenty days after the ratification, all the fortresses on the Rhine, as also Ulm and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the Austrian troops.

The negotiators of the peace were: from France, general Buonaparte; from Austria, the marquis de Gallo, count L. Cobenzl, count von Meerveldt, baron von Degelman.

69. Conformably to this pacification France remained in possession of Belgium, and the dominion of Italy; the republic of Venice disappeared altogether from the number of states. The German empire, abandoned in secret by Austria, as it had before been by Prussia—(what disclosures do these secret contracts, compared with each other, (p. 187,) offer to posterity?)—anxiously looked forward to its fate. The pillars of the old political system lay prostrate; but politicians spoke of perpetual peace, now that France and Austria had become contiguous in

their respective possessions and natural boundaries.

II. *History of Colonial Affairs, from* 1786 *to* 1804.

[To facilitate the general view, colonial history is at once continued to the end of the second division of the period.]

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

1. It was almost impossible to determine what influence the great convulsions of Europe would have on the colonies, since it depended not merely on the extension of arms, but still more on the extension of principles. How different, moreover, must be the operation of the latter, according to the various relations of the classes of society in the colonial countries! How entirely different in North America and in the East and West Indies! Add to this the fluctuations in the course of commerce. And yet the trade of the world, and with it the fate of more than one leading state of Europe, was connected with the colonies.

America.

2. Of the colonies, independent America stands at the head, both for itself, and its influence on Europe. It is seldom that any state can so rapidly increase as America, because it is seldom so highly favoured by circumstances. If the culture of the earth made such an extraordinary progress, that the number of the provinces advanced in this period from thirteen to sixteen, the progress of its commerce was far more astonishing, which in a short time, no longer limited

to the exportation of domestic products, but spreading over every sea, gave America, since the beginning of the European maritime war, such a vast carrying trade, especially between the West Indies and Europe, that its commercial navigation was hardly surpassed by the British.

Besides the natural advantages that America possessed for navigation above any country in Europe, such as her situation, the character of her coasts, and an abundance of wood proper for building vessels, as well as the nature of her productions, the principal causes of the prosperity of her foreign trade consisted: 1. In her regulations respecting duties. It was adopted as a fundamental law, that the exportation of home produce should be entirely free; while imported goods were entitled to a drawback upon re-exportation. 2. In her advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign powers. With France, Feb. 6, 1778. The two parties mutually treated each other on the footing of the most favoured nations. (It was renounced by America on account of the injuries of the Convention, July 7, 1798. By the new treaty, Sept. 30, 1800, a preliminary settlement of free navigation, with the reserve of further negotiations.) The treaties of commerce with the United Netherlands, Oct. 8, 1782; with Sweden, April 3, 1783; with Prussia, Sept. 10, 1785; with Spain, Oct. 27, 1795, contained similar concessions and liberal maxims both with respect to the contraband trade (limited to the actual necessities of war) and the rights of neutral flags; in that with Prussia all privateering even was renounced in case of a war. But the most important of all was the treaty with England, Nov. 19, 1794, not ratified till June 14, 1795; the first ten articles (the adjustment of boundaries, evacuations, indemnifications, etc.) of permanent obligation; the rest, eleven to twenty-eight, (the real treaty of commerce,) for twelve years. Among these: *a.* Trade to the British West Indies in American vessels under

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. America.

seventy tons was made free; the importation of American and exportation of West Indian produce, however, only to America. (This article was suspended, and never came into effect.) *b.* Navigation was made free to the British East Indies, both as to imports and exports; the last only to the ports of America. *c.* But on the other hand, the British maxims were recognised, respecting the rights of neutral flags, the contraband trade, and the right of blockade.

A defence of the treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, entered into between the United States of America and Great Britain, by CAMILLUS, (ALEX. HAMILTON.) 1795. Only a defence of the permanent articles.

3. While America by this spirit of concession opened to herself, in the war of the French revolution, every sea, it was impossible for her to avoid contests with the belligerent powers, to which she was the more exposed from being almost wholly destitute of a navy. The treaty with England exasperated the directory; and the decrees of the convention, bearing so heavily on the navigation of neutrals, did not permit the disputes to subside. But contests arose with England itself, which began to see in America a formidable rival; these disputes, inflamed yet more by the parties formed in the interior, finally impelled America, in order to escape war, to have recourse to the unexampled resolution of voluntarily suspending her own commerce.

Jan. 18, 1798.

The disputes between the United States and England had their origin: 1. In the prohibited serving of British seamen in American vessels: and in the violent seizure of them. This point was passed over in the treaty on account of its

great difficulties. 2. On account of the colonial trade.—The restriction of the prohibition to the direct trade from the colonies to Europe, Jan. 1794, (p. 190,) enabled the Americans, by means of drawbacks, to export to Europe the colonial commodities brought to their harbours, and for which duties had been paid. Disputes arose after the renewal of the war, in 1803, respecting the question, what is a *bona fide* importation? American vessels were captured from May 1805; and soon after, August 3, the trade with the hostile colonies was limited to the British free ports in the West Indies, in order to secure the commerce to England.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. America.

Respecting the contest between the United States and England: *Polit. Journal*, 1807, B. i. p. 27 seq.

4. The further influence of America on commerce depended for the most part on her determination to become a maritime power. But the situation of this republic was materially changed by the purchase of Louisiana from France, about the end of this period; by which purchase, not only her territory, soon extending to the Pacific, was almost doubled, but she came into the full possession of the Mississippi river, with all its subordinate streams, and especially the mighty Missouri. What a prospect for the future!

Louisiana, with the city and territory of New Orleans, in the same extent as formerly possessed by Spain, was purchased for sixty millions of francs, April 30, 1803. Rapid progress was made in the improvement of the country, which had never thriven as an European colony; but disputes had already arisen with Spain: partly respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida; and partly respecting the boundary on the side of New Mexico, viz. as to whether the neighbouring river Sabine, or the remote Rio Bravo was to constitute it.

Voyage dans les deux Louisianes en 1801—1803, par

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

PERRIN DU LAC. Paris, 1805. A description of the interior of this rich country, especially the country on the Missouri.

Travels of Capt. Lewis and Clarke from St. Louis by the way of Missouri and Columbia to the Pacific ocean, compiled by GASS. Philadelphia, 1809. This voyage of discovery, undertaken by order of congress, first disclosed the full value of the country.

West Indies.

5. The West India colonies, founded on slavery, underwent during this period the greatest changes, and some of them the most fearful catastrophes. They had reached their maturity, and would probably have begun to decline by degrees, even without any violent commotions, after the culture of their produce by free labourers had become general on the continent of America, and no less so in the East Indies. But it was not wars alone, the great revolution of ideas in Europe exerted a still stronger influence on their destiny. The voice of humanity was raised against the cruelties of the slave trade, and was eventually triumphant. But the inconsiderate application of general maxims created in some of them, greater atrocities than those which they were designed to prevent.

We must carefully discriminate between the abolition of the *slave trade*, and the abolition of *slavery*. The opponents of the slave trade were not, for that reason, unconditional opponents of slavery; the actual propagation of the blacks in the West Indies was to suffice for their culture. The subject was discussed in England and America. As early as 1754, the traffic in blacks had been abolished among the Quakers, and emancipations soon became general, to the advantage, it has been asserted, of the owners. But the grand impulse

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. West Indies.

was given by the independence of America, and the prohibition, imposed on the introduction of negroes, (with the exception of the Carolinas and Georgia.) In England, the public interest was strongly excited by the works of Ramsay, and the prize essay of Clarkson at Cambridge, 1785. The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded at Manchester, 1787, by Granville Sharp, (founder of the Sierra Leone colony, p. 102,) and soon spread through all England. The matter was first brought before parliament by means of petitions, Feb. 1, 1788; the only result was, an act for the better regulation of the slave trade, July 10. The honour of being the first to abolish it in Europe belongs to Denmark. A royal order was issued, May 16, 1792, that the traffic in blacks should cease in the Danish possessions from the end of 1802. But England did not remain inactive; Clarkson himself, then a young man, contributed to excite the public attention, as much by his own personal activity, as he had before done by his prize essay; and after May 12, 1788, the cause of the blacks found in the exalted Wilberforce, so persevering an advocate in parliament, that after a conflict, annually renewed for eighteen years, and supported against him for a long time by Fox and even by Pitt, and latterly by a pressure of circumstances, it was finally carried in the Lower House. The act for the abolition of the slave trade was passed March 24, 1807.

An essay on the treatment and conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, by the Rev. JAMES RAMSAY. Lond. 1784. The author resided for some time in St. Christopher, in a professional capacity.

Essay on the Slavery and the Commerce of the human species, by THOM. CLARKSON. Lond. 1786. A translation of the Latin prize essay in answer to the question: Num liceat invitos in servitutem dare?

CLARENDON'S *accurate and copious account of the Debates of the House of Commons on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for an Abolition of the Slave Trade, April* 2, (Lond. 1792,) gives most of the arguments for and against it.

Colonial affairs. 1740-1804. West Indies.

The History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by THOM. CLARKSON. Lond. 1808, 2 vols. 8vo. The leading work for the history.

Agreeing in most respects with the above, but compiled from different sources, is:

D. HUNE, *Darstellung*, etc. (vol. i. p. 91,) the whole of the second part. The most comprehensive work on the subject.

An enumeration of many other works may be found in: *Versuch einer Geschichte des Negersklavenhandels*, von JOH. JAC. SELL. Halle, 1791.

6. This matter took an entirely different course in France and in the French colonies. Instead of following the dictates of experience, the national assembly acted on general principles, and applying the declaration of the Rights of Man to the islands, by the decree of May 16, gave the signal to scenes of horror, of which it soon, but too late, repented. It was not however the blacks, but the mulattos, who demanding equal rights with the white inhabitants, began the insurrection and led away the blacks. Though these rebellions were quelled on the smaller islands, that of St. Domingo on the other hand was unavoidably sacrificed; and with it, the mother country lost one of the richest sources of her foreign trade. (see p. 117).

The *Société des amis des Noirs* was formed in Paris, 1788, for the abolition not only of the slave trade, but also of slavery itself. Its influence reached the colonies by means of the mulattos then in Paris.—Immediately after the opening of the national assembly, commotions and contests arose among the whites themselves; especially on St. Domingo.—The decree of the national assembly of May 15, 1791, established

the equality of rights of the white inhabitants and the mulattos *(gens de couleur.)* The whites evinced a repugnance to this measure and an attachment to the cause of royalty. The mulattos seized arms, and stirred up the blacks to insurrection. The rebellion commenced Aug. 1771. The plantations were destroyed, and Port au Prince burned Nov.——. The commissaries Santhonax and Polverel, two staunch jacobins, were sent out with dictatorial power and six thousand men, by the second national assembly, Sept. 1792. They united with the mulattos; a reign of terror ensued; disputes arose with the commandant Galbaud (the whites were never agreed among themselves); they invoked against him the aid of the blacks, and the plundering, massacre, and burning of Cape François followed, June 21, 1793. The negroes were declared free.—War having broken out with England, the English began their attempts on Domingo, Sept. 1793, at the invitation of a party among the whites; several places were conquered 1793—1797 (see p. 191.) But the climate devoured more than the sword. The island was evacuated, 1798. The whites emigrated, and the negroes exercised the sovereignty under Toussaint L'Ouverture; and after his removal, 1803, under Dessalines, Christopher, etc.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. West Indies.

BRYAN EDWARDS's *Historical survey of the French Colony in the island of St. Domingo*, 1797, 4to. (see vol. i. p. 182.) This work reaches down to the year 1793.

Histoire des désastres de St. Domingue. Paris, 1795. Narrated with exactness, by an emigrant planter. What are the horrors of civil, in comparison with those of servile wars!

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de St. Domingue, par le Lieut.-Gén. BARON PAMPHILE DE LACROIX. 2 vols. 1820. The author was on the spot, and his work is the leading authority on the French side of the question.

7. The fruitless efforts to reconquer the island after the peace of Amiens strengthened the dominion of the blacks, who, after the utter destruction of the city, erected a distinct state,

1802. Oct. 29, 1803.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

West Indies.

Hayti. But the leaders soon waged war against each other, and France maintained itself, at least in the portion ceded by Spain.

M. RAINSFORD, *Account of the Black empire of Hayti.* Lond. 1805.

8. Although the peace of Amiens, which left Trinidad only to the English, who restored all other conquests, made no great changes in the state of possessions in the West Indies, they nevertheless were not what they had been before the war. The first of these colonies was made desolate; the tranquillity of the others was preserved with difficulty; loud complaints reached Europe itself. Even Jamaica could not recover. A concurrence of circumstances could alone make these hot-houses prosper; these however had changed; and their happy times were gone, probably for ever.

Spain.

9. The situation of the great Spanish colonies on the continent of America was entirely different. Though slavery existed among them, the slaves never had the preponderance. No disturbances of importance were ever heard of; and the interruption of communication with the mother country seemed to be the only evil that the war inflicted on them. Well-informed travellers in great measure withdrew the veil which formerly concealed them, and gave authentic accounts of their tranquil internal prosperity, a result of their greater commercial privileges, (see p. 122,) though they had but just emerged from

an infant state. At their head stood Mexico, destined to be the first commercial country by its population, its treasures, its productions, and its situation. Buenos Ayres, New Granada, and Peru, (the two latter however in a less degree as it would seem than the former,) had all arisen by commerce. As the political relations of these countries developed themselves, their commercial relations also must of necessity undergo some change; and to what results might not this change lead?

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. Spain.

Among the works which shed so much light over Spanish America, the first are the works of AL. VON HUMBOLDT; of these we must here cite:

Essai politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1808. Since its completion it has been the leading work on Mexico.

Voyage à la partie orientale de la Tierra firma, par DE PONS. Paris, 1806, 3 vols. The leading work for Caraccas, Venezuela, etc.

SKINNER, *On the present state of Peru.* London, 1806, 4to. It contains very instructive extracts from the *Mercurio Peruano.*

D. FELIX AZARA, *Voyage dans l'Amerique meridionale, depuis* 1781—1801. Paris, 1807, T. i. iv. The leading work on Buenos Ayres and Paraguay. The two last volumes comprise their natural history.

Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniss der Spanischen Besitzungen in Amerika, von CHR. AUG. FISCHER. Dresden, 1802. Compiled from Spanish sources, and particularly important for the modern commercial state of Buenos Ayres.

10. The political relations of Brazil differed considerably from those of Spanish America. Pombal's monopoly of the company of Maranhao

Brazil.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. Brazil.

terminated, indeed, after his fall; yet the commercial restraints were by no means lessened. As, however, the mother country remained in the interest of England, the free communication was not interrupted, and it had more to gain than to lose from the naval wars of the Europeans. The times approached when the political relations of the mother country were to occasion the independence of the colony, and South America was to contain an empire equal in extent, and perhaps superior in fertility, to the republic of North America.

Schizze von Brasilien, von J. LOBO DA SILVEIRA. Stockholm, 1809. Written in German by a Portuguese; and full of interesting information, which confirms at the same time its internal prosperity.

Der Handel von Portugal im Jahre 1804, in: *Europäische Annalen*, 1806, st. 4, s. 42, gives the most authentic account of the exports of Brazil at that time.

Africa.

11. What influence the revolution of Brazil, and the abolition of the slave trade in England and Denmark will have upon the colonies on the coast of Africa, time must show. But in general Africa was drawn within the horizon of the Europeans, much more in this period than in the former. To explore its interior was the grand problem of the day. Owing to the labours of Bruce, the British African Association, and the Egyptian Expedition, the darkness which covered this quarter of the globe was in part removed, and what still remained unexplored, only gave

an additional charm to enterprise, and stimulated the zeal of future travellers. What a new world dawns here also on the prospect of the European? Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

Travels to discover the sources of the Nile, in the years 1768—1773, by JAMES BRUCE. London, 1790, 5 vols. 4to. Second edition, 1805, 7 vols. 8vo.

Proceedings of the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa. London, 1790, 4to. The society, founded June 1788, doubled the value of their transactions by subjoining RENNEL's excellent Maps of N. Africa.

12. The influence of the European revolutions on the East Indies was at first of a purely military character. On the continent of India the British had to fear no European rivals; the war with Holland gave them the islands also; and they became, in consequence, the sole ruling nation. But in India itself war still continued, and the fall of the kingdom of Mysore constituted an important epoch. British East Indies.

13. As long as Tippoo Saib reigned he was the most formidable enemy of the British; and their military forces were therefore more concentrated in the south. To prevent combinations of the other Indian powers, especially of the princes of the Mahrattas with Tippoo, and to secure their co-operation, wherever possible, by a division of the spoil, was therefore the grand aim of British policy. The power of the new Jugurtha was thus broken in the next war, by which he lost half of his territories, though his resentment against the British was doubled.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

British East Indies.

The new war of Tippoo, 1790—1792, was caused by his attack on the rajah of Travancore, the ally of the English, in order to conquer the coast of South Malabar. This gave rise to the participation of the English, in connection with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Bangalore was conquered, 1791; but fruitless attacks were made on the capital under Cornwallis and Abercrombie. The expedition was renewed in 1792, and a peace, inclusive of the British allies, was negotiated under the walls of Seringapatam, March 17. Conditions: *a.* Tippoo relinquished half of his territories, according the choice of the allies. *b.* He agreed to pay three crores of rupees, and gave two of his sons as hostages till the payment should be made.—For themselves and their allies, the English selected the provinces that bordered on their old possessions.

Respecting the causes of this war, exact information may be found in: *Polit. Journal*, 1792, p. 1045.

14. Under these circumstances was it to be wondered that Tippoo should resume his sword on occasion of the Egyptian expedition? But the precipitate promulgation of his embassy to the Isle of France had roused the British; they resolved to anticipate him; and with the conquest of Seringapatam, his empire fell, overwhelming Tippoo in its ruins.

Some adventurers transmitted the influence of the French revolution to Tippoo; and a Jacobin club was instituted at the court of the citizen sultan, 1797. He despatched an embassy to the Isle of France, and to Zemaun-shah of East Persia, 1798. The apprehensions of the British impelled them to great activity; and their armies pressed forward under general Harris, Feb. 1799. Seringapatam was invested and taken by assault, May 4. The sultan was slain, and his empire divided; while in the remainder, a branch of the old dynasty of the Hindu rajahs was elevated to the throne, as a subsidiary of the British.

View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultan, by ALEX. BEATSON. Lond. 1800.

Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saheb, oder historisch geographische Uebersicht des Mysorischen Reichs, und dessen Entstehung und Zertheilung, von M. C. SPRENGEL. Weimer, 1801. The author had the advantage of the best British sources.

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. British East Indies

15. Since the fall of Mysore the British policy in the East Indies has evidently changed, as the policy of an all powerful conqueror is usually found to do. Its indirect dominion was transformed into a direct one; the allies of the company were deposed; their lands altogether or for the most part confiscated; and in those which they retained they had to support British garrisons or pay tribute instead.

Tanjore was taken, 1799, the rajah consenting to receive a pension; half of Oude and Allahabad followed after the expulsion of the refractory nabob Ali, under pretence of protecting an incompetent pretender to the throne, 1799, who was soon after pensioned. The whole Carnatic was taken after the death of the nabob of Arcot, 1805, in the most revolting manner.

Instructions of the nabob of the Carnatic to his agents in London; in: von ARCHENHOLZ *Minerva*, 1802, p. 335.

[The author appears to view the subject in too partial, not to say a prejudiced, light; the following vivid but rather startling picture of the manner in which our Indian empire has gone on increasing, is drawn by a well qualified judge, Mr. R. Jenkins, who was political resident at Nagpore for twenty years. "The rise and progress of our power in India have been rapid and marvellous. Unlike other empires ours in the east has been in a great degree forced upon us, and built up at almost every step against our own deliberate resolution to avoid it; in the face of every opposition which could be given to it by the le-

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British East Indies.

gislature, his majesty's government, and by the court of directors, acting upon correspondent dispositions in our governments abroad. Each successive governor-general in the last half century sent out from this country with minds fresh and untouched by local prejudices—including lord Cornwallis during his first administration, who went to India under an act containing an express denunciation against conquest and extension of dominion, lord Wellesley, lord Minto, lord Hastings, (the last two strongly impressed against the existing foreign policy in India,) and lord Amherst—have seen reason to enter into wars and negotiations, defensive in their objects, but generally terminating in that very extension of territory and dominion which was so much dreaded." MR. JENKINS, *Evidence before the House of Commons*, March 27, 1832. TRANSL.]

16. The princes of the Mahrattas were thus the only remaining powerful foes in India; formidable partly on account of their personal qualities, like Holkar, and partly on account of the French officers whom they took into their service. Happily for the British no harmony prevailed among them. But how can peace exist with nations, who are habitually in a state of war, as long as they are not incapacitated from waging it?

War was carried on with the combined rajahs of Berar (p. 111) and Scindia, who caused his troops to be organised after the European manner, by Perron, Sept.—Dec. 1803. The British were victorious, conquered Agri and Delhi itself, the residence of the great mogul. Peace was agreed upon, Dec. 30, 1803. Conditions: *a.* The resignation of the Duab, (between the Jumna and the Ganges;) of Beroach in Guzerat, and of the district of Kuttak with the harbour of Balasore, between Bengal and the Circars. *b.* The rajahs promised nei-

ther to engage or retain foreign Europeans in their service. *c.* The great mogul was to remain in the most perfect dependence on the British, (he soon became a mere pensionary.)— The war with Holkar, (at the same time the enemy of Scindia,) prosecuted by the British since April 1804, at first with ill success, consisted only of a border war. Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. British East Indies.

Contributions to the latest history of India in: *Europäische Annalen*, 1805, B. 3. 4. from intercepted despatches of governor-general Wellesley, first published in the *Moniteur*.

17. These wars and conquests, to which were added, at the peace of Amiens, the possessions of the Dutch in Ceylon, extended the immediate territory of the company over all the eastern coast, the greater part of the western coast, and on the Ganges and Jumna as far as Delhi. They moreover totally changed the military situation of the British in the East Indies. Instead of southern India, the northern, the countries on the Upper Ganges, became the principal seat of their power. They were again neighbours of the Seiks and other warlike nations, with which the maintenance of their dominion kept them in a state of constant dispute.

18. With the great enlargement of territory, especially of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, by Tippoo's fall, the territorial incomes were necessarily augmented. But hardly more than to meet the expenditures; and an intentional darkness was apparently thrown over the whole affairs of the company. Much depended of course on the character of the governor-general in India; what a difference was there be-

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

tween the spirit of the administration under the simple Cornwallis and the sumptuous Wellesley? With the extension of territory the power of these viceroys became greater of itself; but circumstances sometimes required it to be expressly increased.

British East Indies.

After Hastings, 1774—1785, the British governor-generals in India were: first, lord Cornwallis, till 1794; then sir J. Shore, and he having been recalled, in 1796, in consequence of some disturbances among the soldiery, Cornwallis was again appointed, but resigned his office, in 1797, without going to India, the disturbances having been allayed; he was followed by the marquis Wellesley, (lord Mornington,) who was recalled in 1804; when lord Cornwallis, appointed a third time, actually went out, but died soon after his arrival, 1805. He was succeeded by lord Minto, who was followed, in 1813, by the earl of Moira (marquis Hastings.)

The East India annual Register and Directory. This British-Indian state Calendar, appearing annually in London, affords the best information respecting the interior organisation of the government.

19. The British East India commerce was naturally enlarged by the conquests from the Dutch, (p. 191,) as the whole of the spice trade came into the hands of the British. Though the monopoly of the company continued, it was circumscribed by the regulation, that private persons might trade to India on paying a fixed tax, provided it were in the vessels of the company. An oppressive monopoly of the company was in reality incompatible with the well-known regulations of the traffic in its stock, and its periodical sales by auction.

1793.

20. The Dutch East India company, having been for a long time approaching its dissolution, resembled, after the revolution of the mother country, an expiring taper. Its downfal was produced, not by the loss of its possessions, but by its own want of actual internal vitality. The territorial receipts of most of the possessions had long been inadequate to defray the expenses of the administration; and the smuggling, carried on by its own officers, who were paid with illiberal parsimony, robbed it in a great degree of the advantages of commerce. Its possessions, of which Ceylon only was ceded by the peace of Amiens, became the property of the nation; and its debts were attached to the mass of the national debt. In Europe the administration was committed to a board of controul; in India, it seems to have remained unaltered. As for the commerce, the monopoly of it to the western part of India was revoked, and limited to the eastern part alone, (the Moluccas and the spice trade.)

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

Holland. Sept. 5, 1795.

Dec. 24.

March 1, 1803.

The speedy fall of the company followed its slow decline after the war with England, 1780. The debts, which amounted in 1781 to no more than twelve millions of guilders, had increased in 1792 to one hundred and seven millions; at this time the receipts were more than seventy millions less, and the expenditures thirty millions more than in the twelve preceding years.

Staat der Generale Nederlandschen Oostindischen Compagnie behelzende Rapporten, van de Heeren Haar Ed. Groot Mogende Gecommitteerden en Bylagen, in date 14

Colonial affairs. 1786-1804. Holland.

Juli, 1791. Amsterdam, 1792, 2 vols. 8vo. This book contains a threefold report of the commissaries to the states-general, respecting the finances of the company, with all the necessary documents.—Afterwards appeared:

Bericht rakende de Vernietiging van het tegenwoordig Bewind der Oost-Indische Compagnie; in: *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarbocken*, Oct. 1795, p. 6381 seq. The principal document for the history of the last period of the company, 1772—1792, with references and proofs.—The internal decay, which had already begun at an earlier period, is here confessed.

Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der bataafsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indien, van den Handel op dezelve, door DIRCK VAN HOOGENDORP. Delft, 1799, 8vo. The most lively (whether the most faithful?) sketch of the miserable condition of the company's affairs in the East Indies themselves. The author was arrested in Java, but escaped to Holland. He has not been contradicted.

Beknopte Beschryving der Oost-Indischen Etablissementen, verzeld van eenige Bylagen, door ABY HUYSERS, Oud Koopmann, etc. Utrecht, 1789, 8vo. Useful for obtaining a knowledge of the organisation of the company in India, especially from the Appendix No. 3, which includes the regulation of the governor-general, James Mossel, 1753, respecting the rank and pay of the officers of the company in the East Indies.

France.

21. The French East Indies were soon limited, after the beginning of the war of the revolution, to the isles of France and Bourbon. Protected by their situation, and faithful to the mother country, these islands maintained themselves not only against foreign attacks, but also, what was much more difficult, against the internal storms of the revolution. They were always a thorn in the side of England, on account both of the priva-

teering they carried on, and of the connection they sustained with single Indian princes. Colonial affairs. 1786-1804.

22. The settlements of the British in Australia, (p. 115) were already so thriving, that they supported themselves, and promised a rich reward to the mother country, particularly from their flocks. Two colonies had been already settled on Norfolk Island and Van Dieman's Land. The navigation of the British continued to embrace the great Pacific. Missions were established to Otaheite; the Sandwich Islands began to adopt European culture, and parts, hitherto unknown, 1790. of North America, around Nookta Sound, acquired such an importance from the trade in peltry, that they almost caused a war between Great Britain and Spain.

THIRD PERIOD.

From 1786 *to* 1797.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

Northern states. 1786-1797.

1. THE internal relations of the north in this period, grew chiefly out of the alliance of Russia with Austria, and the dissolution of its connection with Prussia. Hence proceeded the Russian-Austrian war against the Turks, and in consequence, the war with Sweden, as well as the whole series of the destinies of Poland, and the final destruction of that state. The league, occasioned by the Dutch disturbances, between Prussia and England, gave the latter power a greater influence over the north than it had hitherto exercised; and towards the close of this period, the north was influenced by the new scenes in France, which modified, in a greater or less degree, the spirit of all the European cabinets.

2. The circumstance of Russia being thus at variance with England and Prussia, may perhaps have contributed, as much as foreign policy, to the breaking out of the war with Turkey: Po-

temkin was nevertheless its principal author, as he was its soul, in the capacity of commander-in-chief. But the war acquired the aspect of a defensive war, since the Porte was the first to declare it. With so much the greater certainty could the participation of Joseph be reckoned upon; notwithstanding the Turks avoided, with the utmost care, giving the least offence. Thus arose a conflict of four years, by which Russia saw only a small proportion of its wishes accomplished, and Joseph, fearfully deluded in his hopes, prepared his own grave, before witnessing the issue.

Northern states. 1786-1797.

Aug. 16, 1787.

Feb. 9, 1788.

The theatres of the war were: partly the Crimea and Bessarabia for the Russians alone; and partly the countries on the Danube, from Bosnia to Moldavia, for the Austrians and Russians. In 1787, the Turks made some fruitless attacks by sea upon Kinburn, Sept. and Oct., for the purpose of reconquering the Crimea. The Russians, hitherto accustomed, like the Romans, to appear with moderate armies, this time came forward in greater force; the principal army under Potemkin; a second on the frontiers of Moldavia under Romanzoff. The Turks, avoiding decisive battles, defended their fortresses. In the year 1788, naval battles, unfavourable to the Turks, were fought at the mouths of the Dnieper, June 28, and July 12; and soon after Oczakoff was besieged by Potemkin, July—December. It was taken by assault, with terrible carnage, Dec. 17. The Austrian war was begun by the main army under Joseph himself and Lascy, March. A singular system of defensive war by means of a frontier cordon was adopted; it was penetrated by the Turks in the Bannat, in August. The night at Lugosch, Sept. 20, cost Joseph his reputation as a general, and his health. He soon abandoned the army in discontent; Laudon with Haddik obtaining the

Northern states. 1786-1797.

chief command.—The body under the prince of Cobourg joined the Russians in Moldavia, and Choczim was reduced, Sept. 19. —In the following campaign, 1789, the Austrians were more successful under Laudon, conquered Belgrade, Oct. 8, and invested Orsowa. In Moldavia under Cobourg and Suwarrow they won a battle at Fockschani, July 31, and at Martinestie on the Rimnik, Sept. 22. The Russians were constantly laying sieges. Gallacia was conquered, May 1; Ackermann, Oct. 13; Bender, Nov. 15. No less achievements were effected in the campaign of 1790, when Austria had withdrawn, after the death of Joseph. Killanova was conquered Oct. 15: and the terrible storming of Ismail, by Suwarrow, took place Dec. 22.

Geschichte des Oestreichisch-Russischen und Turkischen Krieges in den Jahren von 1787—1792, nebst AKTENSTUCKEN und URKUNDEN. Leipzig, 1792. Compiled from the *Political Journal.*

Considerations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs, par M. DE VOLNEY. à Londres, 1788.—Respecting the impending partition of the Turkish empire, and the interest of France in it, especially with respect to Egypt.

Examen du livre intitulé Considérations, etc. par M. DE PEYSSONEL. Amsterdam, 1788.—Very profound as a critical performance, but dry and uninteresting.

3. But the distresses of the Porte, had roused the activity of other powers, England, and particularly Prussia. Without themselves engaging in the contest, they attempted to effect diversions in Poland and Sweden. Gustavus III. believed the favourable moment had arrived for extricating himself from the burdensome preponderance of a neighbour, by a bold stroke. He therefore quarrelled with Russia; and having to contend with domestic as well as foreign antagonists, he soon had ample opportunity of

showing what an extraordinary man is able to perform, even when left to himself alone. His conflict was not without glory, and ended without loss.

The king invaded Russian Finland, June 23, 1788: and Russia declared war, July 11. The war, both on land and sea, was rendered more extensive by the participation of Denmark in favour of Russia, conformably to the existing alliance (p. 148) Sept. Norway was invaded and Gottenburg menaced; but on the application of Britain, Oct. 9, an armistice was agreed upon, and subsequently a retreat.—An indecisive naval battle occurred at Hochland, July 7.—But the Swedish army mutinied, because an aggressive war was contrary to the constitution, and of itself concluded a truce with Russia. The states were convened; and by the act of Union and Safety, April 3, 1789, the royal power was augmented and invested with the right of war and peace, not without the vehement resistance of the nobility. The war was renewed; in Finland, however, none but frequent battles near the ports occurred. On sea, the contest was bloody, of the main fleet as well as of the squadrons. A victory was obtained by a Russian squadron, Aug. 24. So also in the following year, 1790. The attack on the fleet at Neval, was repelled, May 14; but the king gained a victory with his squadrons, May 15. After the naval battle of June 3, the Swedish fleet retreated and was blockaded in Wiburg Sound, and suffered great loss in the battle of July 3. But the king was again victorious with the squadron in Svensca Sound, July 9. Negotiations were then entered upon; and peace was concluded, without foreign mediation, at Werela, Aug. 14. Conditions: *a.* Restoration of the *Status quo* before the war. *b.* Russia acknowledged the existing Swedish constitution.

Plenipotentiaries: from Russia, baron Igelström: from Sweden, baron Armfeldt.

Mémoire sur la Campagne de 1788 *en Suede*, par le PRINCE

Northern states. 1786-1797.

CHARLES DE HESSE. à Copenhague, 1789. For the history of the Danish campaign.

4. Much greater difficulties obstructed the termination of the Turkish war, because strangers mingled in it. England, and particularly Prussia, desired to prescribe the terms; a Prussian alliance was concluded with the Porte; and a Prussian army was assembled in Silesia. The death of Joseph II. and the situation of the monarchy at the accession of Leopold, strengthened the hopes of pacification. Belgium was in open rebellion, (p. 167,) Hungary discontented and turbulent, the whole state exhausted and destitute of internal support. The congress at Reichenbach was nevertheless opened under very uncertain prospects.

Jan. 31, 1790.

Feb. 20.

The congress was holden at Reichenbach, June 1790. The project of Hertzberg was to restore Galicia to Poland in consideration of an indemnification in Servia and Walachia, according to the boundaries of Passarowitz (see vol. i, p. 297); and to Prussia, Dantzic and Thorn; this was rejected by Austria. The project was abandoned on Hertzberg's fall, and a strict *status quo* insisted on. The convention at Reichenbach, June 27, was to be the basis of future peace between Austria and the Porte; Austria agreed to the *status quo*; and Prussia and the maritime powers promised their aid in the Netherlands.

Plenipotentiaries: from Austria, prince Reuss and baron von Spielmann; from Prussia, count Hertzberg; from England, Jos. Ewart; from the republic, van Reede.

HERZBERG, *Recueil*, etc. T. iii. p. 77 seq.

5. The immediate consequence of this procedure was a truce between Austria and the

Sept. 19,

Porte; but the conclusion of the definitive peace at Szistové was delayed, on account of several intermediate events and some modifications, till the middle of the following year.

Peace was concluded between Austria and the Porte, Aug. 4, 1791. Conditions: *a.* Restoration of the *status quo* before the war; but old Orsova remained with Austria, though without fortifications. *b.* The fortress of Choczim was to be occupied by Austria, till the peace with Russia. *c.* The boundaries were more accurately fixed; and afterwards ratified by the convention of Nov. 28, 1795.

Plenipotentiaries: the baron v. Herbert; and the reis Effendi.

6. The negotiation with Russia was attended with much greater difficulties. Catharine, already reconciled with Sweden, was not pleased with the high tone in which Prussia, and still more England, were desirous of prescribing to her similar conditions of the *status quo*. In vain did Pitt, amid the murmurs of the nation, equip a fleet; Catharine declared her resolution to conclude her peace alone, and she did conclude it alone.

Preliminaries were signed between Russia and Austria, Aug 11, 1791; they were changed into a definitive peace at Jassy, Jan. 9, 1792. Conditions: *a.* Russia obtained Oczakoff with the strip of land between the Dnieper and the Niester, which last constituted the boundary. *b.* In other respects, all conquests being restored, the boundaries were the same as before the war.—Potemkin, the author of the war, did not live to see the pacification. He died, while travelling, under a tree, not far from Jassy, Oct. 15, 1791.

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The plenipotentiaries at Jassy were: the count Besborodko, and the grand vizier Jussuf Pacha.

7. After four years of contest, and with streams of blood, it was hardly found possible to break down even the outworks of a state, which it had been attempted to overthrow; (so much can national feeling and courage do against tactics!) and even these had to be restored with a few slight exceptions. But even without further conquests, the war was no less replete with consequences.

8. The first and most important one was the establishment of the dominion of Russia on the Black sea. It continued to hold the Crimea and the contiguous countries, then indeed deserts, but deserts where Cherson and Odessa were soon afterwards to bloom. Catharine planted here, not for herself, but for future generations. What may become of these places is manifest by a glance at the neighbouring sea with its coasts and islands; what will become of them, future history must narrate.

But these advantages were purchased with the embarrassment of the Russian money affairs, an embarrassment not yet remedied. Since the beginning of this Turkish war, the paper money, issued by Catharine in 1768, fell below its nominal value; and the issues being repeated, it continued to depreciate, till it fell to about a fourth of its value.

Ueber Russlands Papiergeld und die Mittel, dasselbe bei einem unveränderlichen Werthe zu erhalten von L. H. JAKOB. Halle, 1817. Drawn from a thorough practical as well as theoretical knowledge of the subject.

9. A higher advantage for the present was the formation of generals. Russia and Germany found theirs; Suwarrow and Cobourg, rivals without envy, were of much more value than the devastation of Oczakoff and Choczim. The times were approaching when both should appear on another stage. Why had their great career to begin in the evening of their life? Northern states. 1786-1797.

ANTHING, *Versuch einer Kriegsgeschichte des Grafen. Al. Suwarrow.* 1799, 3 Thle.

10. For the two neighbouring states, Sweden and Poland, this second Turkish war had opposite results. For Sweden, the guerdon of the war was its restored independence and friendship with Russia. But could the new augmentation of the regal power be regarded as fortunate? The very next years proved, that it might be highly dangerous for Sweden: and no one atoned for it more severely than the ill-fated Gustavus III.!

The peace at Werela was shortly followed by a defensive alliance with Russia, Oct. 19, 1791, brought about by their similar sentiments towards France. Gustavus III. resolved to join the alliance against France, and place himself at its head. But a great ferment arose among the nobility; and the king was murdered after the diet at Gefle, March 16, 1792. The consequence was the preservation of neutrality under the regency of duke Charles of Südermanland (till 1796).

Reisen über den Sund. Tübingen, 1803. Valuable for the information it conveys of this period.

11. A series of extremely different destinies

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grew out of the wars, as affecting the condition of Poland. Its fall had meanwhile been preparing. The variance of Russia and Prussia necessarily reacted on this state; and its situation soon became such, that neutrality was impossible.

Russia had made a proposal, favoured by Stanislaus, in the diet of the confederacy, for a league, in order to involve Poland in the Turkish war; on the other hand, Prussia declared to Poland, Oct. 12, 1788, that it would consider this as a step against itself.

Vom Entstehen und Untergange der Polnischen Constitution vom 3 Mai, 1791. Germanien, 1793, 2. Thl. Comprehending the accomplishment of the second partition of Poland, Oct. 1793. Written by Polish patriots. Grief, even when best justified, does well to moderate its expression.—The opposite side of the picture is shown in:

Histoire de la pretendue Révolution de Pologne, avec un examen de sa nouvelle constitution; par M. MEHÉE. Paris, 1793. The new constitution certainly could not please a violent jacobin.

42. The anti-Russian party became clamorous, as soon as a defender was seen in Prussia. The abolition of the constitution, guaranteed by Russia, (p. 145), and the introduction of a new one more adapted to the age, were its principal objects. Constantly encouraged in them by Prussia, it came to an alliance with this power, in which not only the present possessions of Poland were guaranteed, but assistance promised, should others attack it on account of its domestic affairs. The Poles were indeed startled,

March 29. 1790.

as the acquisition of Dantzic and Thorn already began to be agitated. Northern states. 1786-1797.

The first differences between Prussia and Poland originated in the discussions respecting the treaty of commerce; in which the cession of Dantzic was proposed. The alliance was concluded, the treaty of commerce remaining unfinished.

13. Freeing itself of Russian guardianship, and refusing to permit Russian troops to march through the country, Poland now assumed the attitude of a sovereign state. Ignatius Potocki and his friends meanwhile pursued in profound secrecy, and with the approbation of Prussia, the project of the new constitution. The king also was gained, as far as he could be. But still the ancient prejudices were so radical, that the accepting this constitution could only be effected by a kind of surprise. May 3. 1791.

The chief points of the constitution of May 3, were: *a.* The change from an elective to a hereditary kingdom. *b.* The elector of Saxony was declared the successor;—the throne was to be hereditary in his house. *c.* The king, with the council of state, was invested with the executive power. *d.* The diet should continue in two chambers; with the abrogation of the *liberum veto*. *e.* All the privileges of the nobility were confirmed, though *f.* some favours were accorded to the citizens and peasants. These were, indeed, very slight; but could more be granted at once, without irritating the former nation, the nobility?

The best critical view of the constitution is to be found in JEKEL, *Staatsveränderungen, etc.* (see vol. i. p. 262).

14. Rarely has a new constitution ever been accepted with greater enthusiasm. The nation

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considered it the dawn of their liberty. But to defend was more difficult than to project; and in fact this was almost impossible, because the king, who ought to have defended it, was too weak even to have the wish.

15. Catharine appeared intentionally to observe an ominous silence, so long as her hands were bound by the war with the Turks. And she did not break it without a pretext. This had to be afforded by the union of a small number of discontented persons, Felix Potocki and his assistants, at Targowitz, for maintaining the old constitution. Under her protection, they erected a confederacy, (soon loudly execrated by themselves,) which was called the nation. What was not now to be expected, when the the peace at Jassy (p. 227,) left Catharine free!

May 14, 1792.

A Russian army advanced into Poland, May 1792. A bold but useless resistance was made under Poniatowsky, Kosciusko, and others. The king joined the confederacy of Targowitz, July 23; a truce was made, and the new constitution entirely overthrown.

16. Still, however, the hopes of Poland rested on Prussia. But many changes had meanwhile taken place in the west. Frederic William II. had returned from Champagne, without laurels and with his treasury almost exhausted; and the war on the Rhine continued. What a prospect, joined to that of a second war with Russia! That Prussia would abandon them, the Poles might therefore anticipate; but that

their protector, already in secret connection with Russia, would aid in their ruin—was more than could have been expected! Northern states. 1786-1797.

The Prussian troops marched into Poland under the pretence of suppressing Jacobinism, and issued a declaration Jan. 16, 1793, which was followed by a second, Feb. 24, respecting the taking of Dantzic, which had been the declared object of Prussian policy since the first partition, but was prudently concealed by Catharine, and by the prosecution of which object Frederic had detracted from his reputation in 1783. But the declaration in common, of April 16, dispelled all uncertainty.

17. Poland was again divided, between Russia and Prussia, and lost all but a third of its former territory. The partition itself was bad enough, but the manner in which the consent of the nation was extorted at the diet of Grodno was still worse. Such scenes had never before been witnessed in Europe.

The cession, of what had been seized, to Russia, was extorted Aug. 17, 1793; to Prussia, Sept. 3, in consideration of a renunciation of all further claims, and of a guarantee of what was left behind.

18. That the rest of Poland was to be under the sway of Russia was tacitly understood. A closer union with the latter country left it hardly the shadow of independence; and what other but a military dominion could now have existed? Even the capital was occupied by Russian troops, and the commander-in-chief was likewise the ambassador.

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A treaty of union was made with Russia, Oct. 16. Chief points: *a.* Russia reserved the direction of future wars. *b.* Its consent was to be no less necessary in all future compacts with foreign states. *c.* Its troops should be allowed to march into Poland, on the shortest notice.—For the present, the heaviest measure was the appointment of the general Igelström as ambassador.

19. Under these circumstances hardly a semblance of hope seemed to remain; yet the nation was not entirely given up by the patriots, who had fled to foreign countries, and were acquainted with the state of public feeling in Poland. They found in Kosciusko the man, competent as a general to be the head of a re-
1794. volution. Prepared by him, it broke out in Cracow, and soon afterwards in the capital also; and the only measure likely to ensure success was adopted, of placing the leader as supreme magistrate, at the head of the nation.

The revolution broke out on occasion of the reduction of the Polish troops, in Cracow under Madalinsky, March 24. The peasants were armed, and the measures adopted were marked with boldness. It broke out in Warsaw, April 17. The Russians suffered a bloody defeat. A government was erected; (the king retaining his title;) and the national insurrection quickly spread.

Versuch einer Geschichte der letzen Polnischen Insurrection von Jahr 1794. 1796, 2 Th. In a certain degree, a continuation of the work; *Vom Entstehen, etc.* (see p. 230), but in a more moderate tone, and by another author.

Mémoires sur la Révolution de la Pologne, trouvées à Berlin. Paris, 1806. Containing, after a sketch of Polish history, the despatches to the empress from general Pistor respecting the occurrences in Warsaw.

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20. Though in contest with two most powerful enemies, the hopes of the Poles were not a little animated by Frederic William's fruitless expedition against Warsaw. But their preservation was connected with one man; his fate decided theirs. In a short time nothing but the capital remained; and Poland ceased to be reckoned among the nations.

The siege of Warsaw was raised by Frederic William, an insurrection having arisen in his rear, Sept. 1794. But Kosciusko was defeated and made prisoner by the Russians under Fersen, Oct. 10. Suwarrow pressed forward and took Praga by assault, with a terrible massacre of the inhabitants, Nov. 4.

21. Poland was dismembered a third time and completely, with the co-operation of Austria, after a mere convention of the three courts, as the consent of Poland was no longer necessary. The annihilation of this state was followed by the subjection of Courland, its former fief, (see vol. i. p. 347,) to Russia.

The two imperial courts first issued declarations, with a preliminary definition of the boundaries, Jan. 3, 1795; and then, after a convention, a threefold mutual compact was concluded, Oct. 24, according to the boundaries as they then were. —The voluntary and unconditional act of subjugation of Courland was promulgated March 18, 1795.

FERRAND, *Histoire des trois demembremens de la Pologne, pour faire suite á l'histoire de l'anarchie de la Pologne*, par RHULIÉRES. Paris, 1820, 3 vols. An exact detail of the previous negotiations.

22. Catharine thus lived to see the conclusion of the grand tragedy, which, in fact, she alone

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terminated, as she alone had begun it thirty years before. She had divided the soil with others, but not the dominion; and what she had granted, would perhaps have only been lent, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her predecessors had exercised influence like hers on Europe; but history has shown, that this influence had its bounds, and what they were. Things were entirely changed, when her only son Paul I. ascended the throne, too late for himself, with contrary maxims.

Nov. 17, 1796.

THIRD PERIOD.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the peace at Campo Formio, to the establishment of the French imperial throne. 1797—1804.

HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

SCHUTZ, *Handbuch der Geschichte Napoleons und seines Zeitalters.* Leipzig, 1810. A complete chronological enumeration of the events from 1769 to 1810.

Geschichte Napoleon Buonaparte's, von FRIEDR. SAALFELD. Leipzig, 1817, 2 Theile. A copious narrative.

Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

1. AT the beginning of this period, the situation of the leading powers of Europe, though they all stood erect, had essentially changed. France, already geographically aggrandised by the possession of Belgium, Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, and most closely allied with Spain, held Italy and Holland occupied, and could confidently reckon upon the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the consequent dependence of the German empire. What more did it need for assuming the entire sway of the con-

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tinent? Austria was employed in healing its wounds. In the east was Russia, with unweakened vigour, not only aggrandised by the last Polish partitions, but brought geographically nearer to the west, and, since the accession of the new ruler, adopting a line of policy substantially changed by a participation in the war of the revolution. This participation once begun, how could it have ceased, even in case of a change of party? From this time, therefore, the former separation of the northern and southern states disappears, and, by the closer union of them both, Europe now constitutes but one political system.

2. Between them stood Prussia, rapidly drained by an extravagant administration; now become the immediate neighbour of Russia, and soon afterwards of France, with frontiers open to both; and, though possessed of a great commercial navigation, yet from the want of a navy exposed to every attack on sea. Whether to attach itself to Russia or France was the grand question at home. The idea seems to have been buried with Frederic that there was yet a third, perhaps the only course left for Prussia, to stand or fall with the former political system of Europe:—for what place would there be for this intermediate state, in a new order of things?

King Frederic William II. died before the meeting of the congress at Rastadt, Nov. 16, 1797. A reform was soon intro-

duced into the court and ministry under Frederic William III.; there was no material change, however, in the organisation of the state, or in foreign relations. Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

Historische Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Verfalls des Preussischen Staats seit dem Jahre 1794, *von dem Obristen von Massenbach.* 1809, 2 Th. Even the wisest heads believed aggrandisement to be the only remedy for the state.

3. Even after the peace, it was soon felt that things were still in an uncertain state. The naval war continued, and who could doubt that Pitt would do every thing to rekindle the war on land? The conclusion also of the peace of the empire at Rastadt, could not be unattended with difficulties; and even if neither had been the case, the continued republicanising plans of the directory gave support to that conflict of political maxims, which admitted of no permanent pacification.

4. The congress met at Rastadt, under the most melancholy auspices for the empire. It was only to be supported by a close union of Austria and Prussia; but old maxims, new projects, and new prospects already opened, (p. 187 sqq.) formed too strong a wall of partition; and the surrender of Mayence and the capture of Ehrenbreitstein, during the negotiations, showed beforehand the future situation of Germany. The demands of France were doubled: 1st. The cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, which secured its military influence. 2nd. The adoption of the maxim of indemnifying the in-

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jured princes by secularisations, which secured its political influence.

The congress at Rastadt lasted from Dec. 9, 1797-8, to April 1799. After the principal demands of France had been granted, March 11, 1798, on the side of the empire, a speedier termination might have been expected, had it not been shown that this did not depend on the congress itself, but on the situation of Europe, which became every day more complicated.

The deputies were: from France, Bonnier, Jean de Bry, and Röberjot, (the last after Trielhard's departure); from the emperor, count Metternich, count L. Cobenzl, and von Lehrbach; from Prussia, count Goertz, von Jacobi, von Dohm; from the electorate of Mayence, baron von Albini, etc.

Geheime Geschichte der Rastadter Friedensunterhandlungen in Verbindungen mit den Staatshändeln deiser Zeit. Von einem Schweizer. Nebst den wichtigsten Urkunden. Germanien, 1799, 6 Th. 8vo. Only the first part of this comprehensive work contains, in a condensed sketch, the history from the beginning of the wars of the revolution to the breaking out of the war, 1799; the remaining five contain the collection of documents.

5. During these negotiations several of the countries, and especially Italy, continued in a revolutionary state. Since the erection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics the democratic party had become more widely spread, and had caused, in Rome itself, the subversion of the existing government, and a Roman republic. But nowhere would the tree of liberty take less root than there.

Rome was occupied by French troops on occasion of a popular insurrection, Feb. 10, 1798. The Roman republic

was proclaimed, Feb. 15. Pius the Sixth, now eighty years old, (who died in exile, Aug. 29, 1799,) was harshly treated and carried away, together with several cardinals, Feb. 20. Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

A brief account of the subversion of the Papal government, 1798, by R. DUPPA. London, 1799.

6. If this treatment of the head of the church at the order of the directory was a proof of its contempt of public opinion, a much more striking one was seen in the violent revolution of Switzerland. For almost three hundred years this republic in the midst of Europe had not only succeeded in avoiding all participation in those great disputes, with which the world had been entangled, but the conventional international law had also accorded to it, in a certain measure, an inviolability which bordered on sanctity. How could an age that spared nothing have spared this sanctity, in which there was freedom indeed, but no equality? Besides the financial gain that it was hoped would accrue from the spoils, the military importance of the country, from its situation and character, was in all probability a no less powerful motive. Notwithstanding the resistance offered, a few weeks were sufficient to overthrow the structure of centuries, and to transform the league of the confederates into one Helvetian republic.

Switzerland preserved its neutrality notwithstanding the disputes respecting the emigrants, till the revolution of Fructidor 18 (p. 200) determined its fate, by the expulsion of Barthèlmy and Carnot. Switzerland became agitated, and the

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revolution began in Pays de Vaud, Dec. 1797. The evils of the federal constitution were soon disclosed; there was a want of unity, and the burden at last fell almost exclusively on Berne. Here also there was no want of deliberation and energy; but the majority adopted partial measures, and with Kosciusko's courage, the bold d'Erlach was never possessed of Kosciusko's means. The French advanced on two sides, and obstinate battles ensued; Berne was overpowered, March 2—5, 1798; and the other cantons were conquered, with the exception of the three smaller. These made an obstinate resistance and a honourable capitulation, May 1—4. The Helvetian republic was proclaimed, April 12. Then followed five unhappy years of war and faction, till the French Act of Mediation, Feb. 19, 1803, restored to the Swiss their federal (but altered) constitution and tranquillity.—At the time of the taking of Switzerland, the republic of Geneva was destroyed, by its incorporation with France, April 26, 1798.

Essai historique sur la déstruction de la ligue et de la liberté Helvétique, par MALLET DU PAN. Londres, 1798. Is there no native of Berne to write this history?

Authentic information respecting the destruction of the republic of Geneva may be found in the *Polit. Journal*, May, 1798.

7. England stood against the continent; with doubled power; with doubled debts; with doubled resources. The fearful secret began to be avowed, that it could exist as it was only in war; and experience soon showed, that a peace would be nothing but an armistice. Pitt's long and disinterested administration concentrated the power in the hands of a few families, and in the bosom of the free constitution an oligarchy was formed, which, subsequently pushing to a scandalous excess the altercations re-

specting the offices of state, was nevertheless long unable to produce a single leading mind. But the maxims of the anti-revolutionary policy had been firmly established by Pitt; and the government had soon to recur to them, even when it seemed, for a short space, to have abandoned them.

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8. But the continued war with England, about this time matured an enterprise, which, executed by the hero of the day, for whom there was now no suitable theatre in Europe, attracted by its novelty the interest of the world. The conquest and colonisation of Egypt was at the same time to afford a compensation for the West Indies, and give another direction to the colonial system of Europe. Prepared under the mask of an expedition against England, the execution was yet more wonderful than the preparation. The conquest of Malta, combined with it, has been followed by almost greater consequences to Europe, than the conquest of Egypt itself.

Great preparations and embarkations were made at Toulon, (as constituting the left wing of the 'army of England' in the channel.) The fleet and army under Buonaparte set sail May 18, 1798. Malta capitulated and was occupied, June 10—12, without resistance. The fleet was pursued but not overtaken by the British, and finally anchored at Marabou. The troops landed July 1. Alexandria was taken on the 2nd, after which Buonaparte pressed forward towards Cairo, and gained the battle of the Pyramids, July 21. Cairo was invested on the 22nd. Desaix made an expedition against Upper Egypt, and subdued it after the battle at Sediman, Oct. 7. The Syrian

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expedition was defeated at Acre, Dec.—May, 1799; (it was ascertained too late that Egypt cannot be maintained without the possession of Syria.) The Turks landed and were defeated at Aboukir, July 25.

Relation des campagnes du général Buonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie, par BERTHIER. Paris, 1800.

9. No undertaking ever created such intense anxiety in England. Even the great naval victory at Aboukir, by which Nelson almost annihilated the French fleet, could not allay it. But by this victory it acquired the dominion of the Mediterranean, and the British ministry made it a maxim not to rest till Egypt should be torn from France.

Aug. 1.

10. The epoch of the victory at Aboukir gave this battle a greater political importance than naval battles usually possess. The first consequences were a declaration of war against France by the Porte, on account of the invasion of Egypt, accompanied with efforts to reconquer it, aided by England. Thus was dissolved the oldest bond of amity in Europe!

Sept. 12.

11. A still more important consequence was the formation which it promoted, of a second coalition, by means of England and Russia. The office, accepted by Paul I. after the conquest of Malta, as grand master of the order, led to further steps, and the world beheld a new example, how antiquated institutions may recover a momentary importance from the passions of rulers.

Nov. 24.

Russia formed alliances with Naples, Nov. 29, 1798; with the Porte, Dec. 23; with England, Dec. 29; and with the remote Portugal, Sept. 28, 1799. England formed alliances with Sicily, Dec 1; with the Porte, Jan. 5, 1799. So also did Naples with the Porte, Jan. 21.

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12. The condition of these treaties were, in general, a mutual guarantee of all possessions, (including Egypt, in the case of the Porte;) a common prosecution of the war, according to exact stipulations, and none but a common conclusion of peace: the closing of all harbours, especially in the Mediterranean, to French navigation and commerce; British subsidies to Russia and others. The duration of the treaties was fixed for eight years.

13. But it was the accession of the two leading German powers, which could alone open to this mighty combination the way of attack. The course of affairs in Rastadt, and the increasing differences with Austria, hardly left room for a doubt, that these might be gained. Prussia, on the other hand, thinking to steer, in the general storm, between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted, with unshaken purpose, in its neutrality. The warrior state suddenly changed its character, and became the most peaceful. The most dangerous of all experiments, when the state itself destroys the halo of its power!

After the fruitless negotiations at Selz, May 30—July 6, 1798, Austria began to contract closer relations with Russia and England, conceding to Russia the mediation with Prussia respecting future indemnifications. The advance of a Russian

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army through the Austrian territories, Dec., gave the clearest proofs; and caused the French ambassador to make a declaration, Jan. 2, 1799.

14. Thus a new combination was formed against the French republic, in extent at least, greater than the former, but from this very circumstance, proportionably checked in its operations. What obstacles were thrown in its way by the geographical distance of London, Petersburg, and Vienna, obstructing all concert; what by the neutrality of Prussia, covering at the same time Holland and Belgium; what still greater obstacles were presented by the clashing interests of England and the continent, and the capricious character of the Russian monarch? Besides, the premature secession of Naples, which soon proved destructive both to itself and Sardinia, did not permit very important consequences to be expected from such combinations.

The war broke out in Naples, Nov. 1798. The directory declared war against Naples and Sardinia, Dec. 6, and compelled Charles Emmanuel IV. to renounce all his possessions on the continent, Dec. 9. The Neapolitan war proceeded unfortunately under Mack. The king fled to Palermo, June 2, 1799. Naples was taken after some obstinate fighting by Championnet, Jan. 23, and erected into a so called Parthenopæan republic, though not formally recognised as such by the directory.

15. Those obstacles, however, could not weaken the first onset; and the financial embarrassment and the declining importance of the directorial government, in France itself, impeded

all its steps. But the choice of leaders was most decisive. If the directory here failed, the archduke Charles on the contrary, and the dreaded Suwarrow, at the head of the allies, were the harbingers of victory. The congress of Rastadt was dissolved; and one campaign was enough to give the victorious allies Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

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1799.

The congress of Rastadt broke up, April 8, 1799, and the French ambassadors were barbarously murdered on their return, April 28. The war was already begun on the Upper Rhine. The archduke won a battle at Ostrach, March 21, and at Stockach on the 25th, over Jourdan. He penetrated Switzerland as far as Zurich against Massena, till, separated from the Russians under Korsakow, (Sept.,) he held the command victoriously on the Upper Rhine. Manheim was taken, Sept. 18.—The war began in Italy, and Kray was victorious over Scherer at Verona, March 26; at Magnano, April 5. After his arrival, Suwarrow took the command of the Russian-Austrian army, April 16. A victory was gained at Cassano, April 27, and Milan and Turin were taken. Almost all the fortresses, even Mantua itself, fell, July 28. The French under Macdonald retreated from Naples, and were defeated by Suwarrow on the Trebia, June 17—19. Naples was reconquered by the Calabrians under cardinal Ruffo, when the most revolting cruelties were perpetrated, and the throne was re-established, supported by Russians, Turks, and Britons, (a singular combination,) as also the papal dominion under Pius VII. Another French army advanced under Joubert; it was likewise routed by Suwarrow at Novi, Aug. 15. Genoa and Ancona alone remained occupied by French troops.

Précis des evènements militaires, ou essais historiques sur les campagnes de 1799 *à* 1814, *avec cartes et plans*, par M. LE COMTE MATTHIEU DUMAS; lieutenant-général des armées du Roi. Paris, 1817. The six vols. that have hitherto ap-

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peared of this valuable work, comprehend the campaigns of 1799, 1800, and 1801.

Geschichte der Wirkungen und Folgen des Oestreichischen Feldzuges in der Schweiz, von C. L. VON HALLER. Zwei Theile, 1801.

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des dernières révolutions de Naples, par B. N. témoin oculaire. Paris, 1803.

Die Geschichte des Feldzuges 1799 *in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.* Wien, 1819, Th. i. ii. (by the ARCHDUKE CHARLES). The best account of the campaign of 1796 in Germany, has been given by the: *Grundzüge der Strategie* of the same author.

16. Were not these days of victory the days for founding peace? Or was it not the time for a neutral power, like Prussia, to assert with effect and dignity the restoration of Europe? But when has it not been more difficult to make a wise use of a victory, than to obtain the victory itself? The precious moments were gone, and before the year was expired, the coalition had fallen asunder, by the secession of Russia.

A misunderstanding had arisen between Austria and Russia in Italy respecting Ancona and Piedmont, Russia having taken Sardinia under its protection. The Russians withdrew under Suwarrow to Switzerland, to join Korsakow. But Korsakow had been defeated two days before by Massena, Sept. 25—27, and Suwarrow retreated over pathless Alps to Upper Suabia, the last and greatest of his achievements! He and his army were recalled, Jan. 1800, and met with a cold reception! England and Russia also were disunited by the unsuccessful combined descent on North Holland under the duke of York, Aug.—Oct.; one advantage, however, accrued to England from it, namely, the surrender of the Dutch fleet in the Texel, Aug. 30.

17. While the allies were thus trifling away the advantages of their success, a much more important change was proceeding in France. The ship, which was freighted with the immediate destinies of France and Europe, had landed at Frejus. A few weeks were sufficient to establish a new order of things by the overthrow of the long undermined directorial constitution—the directory abdicated; the deputies of the people were driven asunder with clubs;—and one campaign was enough to reconquer the lost fruits of victory, and peace at the same time.

Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

Oct. 9.

General Buonaparte returned from Egypt, Oct. 9, 1799. Preparations were made for an internal revolution, executed after the removal of the chambers of St. Cloud, principally through the instrumentality of the council of the ancients, Nov. 9, (Brumaire 18). The consular constitution was introduced, Dec. 15. Buonaparte was appointed regent, as first consul. The popular sovereignty was abolished by the abrogation of the municipal governments, and the appointment of prefects. The separation of the legislative and executive authority ceased, the government reserving to itself the sole right of originating bills in the legislative body. In appearance it was the outline of a constitution, rather than a finished draught.

18. After peace had been vainly proffered to England, (the manner in which it was proffered would alone have frustrated it,) preparations were made for opening the campaign. How very different was the situation of affairs now, when Russia, no longer co-operating, was soon half won? On the continent, therefore, Austria only had to be vanquished, being feebly supported by

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June 26.

Naples and a part of the German empire, but soon more closely united to England by a new subsidiary treaty. It even seemed to be the general wish, to assist the purposes of France; for, previous to the commencement of the campaign, the archduke Charles was recalled from the command!

A double plan was marked out for the campaign of 1800; in Italy under the first consul; in Upper Germany under Moreau. In Italy, Genoa was obstinately defended by Massena, till June 4. Meanwhile the reserve army crossed Mont St. Bernard. Milan was entered, and the Cisalpine republic restored. Buonaparte gained a victory at Marengo, over Melas, June 14, and a capitulation was made on the 15th, by which Lombardy and all the fortresses to Mantua were to be evacuated. Thus the fruits of a whole year were lost in one day. —In Germany, Moreau crossed the Rhine into Alsace, April 25, and advanced without intermission, beating Kray in several engagements, to Ulm, May 2—10; he then penetrated into Bavaria and the Grisons, June and July. Repeated armistices were made in Germany (after preliminaries had been concluded, July 28, but not ratified in Vienna) in consideration of the evacuation of Ulm and Ingolstadt, July 15 —Nov. 9, and in Italy, after Sept. 29. A great victory was gained at Hohenlinden, Dec. 3, and Austria was entered as far as Linz; and at the same time another victory was gained in Italy on the Mincio, under Brune, Dec. 26.; and the Adige was passed, Jan. 1, 1801, till a truce was concluded at Treviso, Jan. 16.

18. While the old century departed, thus stained with blood, the new ushered in at least a hope of peace. Gladly would humbled Austria have acceded to it: but the dissolution of the connection with England was the condition.

Hardly had Austria consented to this, at the close of the previous century, when negotiations were opened at Luneville, of which a peace, both for the emperor and empire, was the consequence; followed by another peace at Florence with Naples.

Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804. Dec. 31.

Negotiations were carried on at Luneville, Jan. 1—Feb. 9, 1801. The basis of them was, not only the peace at Campo Formio, but also the concessions already made by the emperor at Rastadt; new ones, however, were added. Chief conditions: *a.* The cession of Belgium and Frickthal (afterwards granted to Helvetia, Aug. 1802) to France. *b.* Confirmation of the cessions made in the peace of Campo Formio to Austria in the Venetian territory. *c.* As also of Breisgau to Modena. *d.* Resignation of the Grand duchy of Tuscany in favour of the house of Parma, in consideration of an indemnity in Germany. *e.* The emperor and empire acquiesced in the alienation of the left bank of the Rhine, so that the course of the Rhine constituted the boundary. *f.* The hereditary princes, who suffered deprivations, were to be remunerated in the empire. *g.* The Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics were acknowledged, and included in the peace.—For the preservation of Tuscany (afterwards changed into the kingdom of Etruria, in favour of Parma), besides Parma itself, Louisiana was ceded by Spain to France, March 21, from which it was afterwards purchased by the United States of America, (p. 205). A truce was made with Naples at Foligno, Feb. 18; and peace was concluded at Florence, March 28, 1801. Conditions: *a.* The harbours were to be closed against British and Turkish vessels. *b.* The relinquishment of its possessions in Tuscany, Elba, and Piombino. (Stati degli presidi.) *c.* Otranto remained occupied by French troops.

The negotiators at Luneville were Joseph Buonaparte and count L. Cobenzl.

Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

20. If the continent of Europe began to enjoy tranquillity, by these pacifications, (if a tranquillity, enforced by the sword, can be called such,) the war was still waged on the ocean; the altered policy of Russia soon produced new scenes in the north; and the indemnities, to be allotted in Germany, opened a wide field for negotiation.

21. Since the conquest of Egypt, the Mediterranean had been the principal theatre of the naval war, being covered by Russian, Turkish, and English fleets. To establish here its new dominion, was the grand object of British policy; and the final surrender of Malta, reduced by hunger, laid for it a foundation, which can hardly be shaken. From this time, who could hope for a lasting maritime peace?—The conquest of the French Grecian islands by the Russians and Turks exhibited to Europe the strange spectacle of a Grecian republic; and a republic —founded by Russia and the Porte!

Sept. 5, 1800.

Corfu was taken by the Russian-Turkish fleet, March 1, 1799. The republic of the Seven Islands was erected under Turkish protection and Russian guarantee, by the convention at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte, March 21, 1800. Its constant occupation during the war by Russian forces, till 1807, gave Russia an important influence in the Mediterranean.—Minorca had been added to the conquests of the British in that sea, Oct. 15, 1798; and in the West Indies the other Dutch colonies were conquered, (p. 191,) Surinam, Aug. 21, 1799, and Curaçao, Sept. 13, 1800.

22. Of no less moment was the procedure

of Paul I. in the north. Withdrawing from his connection with England and Austria, and craftily won over by the flattering policy of the new French ruler, he first drew the northern states nearer to himself; but the increased oppressions, inflicted on neutral flags by the British, soon led him to further projects. Catharine's scheme, of an armed neutrality was renewed; the eruption of a new maritime war in the north was the consequence, which would perhaps have been carried much further, had not the relations been altered by the death of Paul I.

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A defensive alliance was formed between Russia and Sweden, Oct. 29, 1799. Closer relations were contracted with Prussia, 1800; the former ones with Denmark continuing. The project of the armed neutrality was renewed, on account of the capture of Danish and Swedish ships under convoy, Aug. 1800. To this end, Russia entered upon a connection with Sweden and Denmark, Dec. 16, to which Prussia acceded, Feb. 12, 1801. The principles of 1780 (p. 99) were repeated, with the addition, that convoy protected from search. —An embargo was laid on British ships in Russia, Nov. 8. The banks of the Weser and Elbe were occupied by Prussians and Danes, and in a short time, Hanover by Prussia, March, 1801. A British squadron was despatched to the Baltic; the battle of Copenhagen was fought, April 2, when the emperor Paul had already ceased to live, March 24. Alexander I. adopted different measures. A convention was made with England, (according to its wishes,) June 17, to which the allies acceded, and the conquests in Europe and the West Indies were evacuated.

23. The great change in Russia, (rarely has a

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greater been produced by a change of rulers;) and the mild spirit of the new monarch, who, by the restoration of the old relations, concluded peace both with France and Spain, had a perceptible influence on the tone of politics. Even England, distressed for want of corn, and almost insulated, desired peace, and it was regarded as a presage of it, that Pitt, who was fully conscious that he could never make peace himself, left of his own accord the post he had so long occupied. But the fate of Egypt gave the actual decision. In this matter, British policy did not waver; and the most unlimited exertions were not, in its opinion, too great for attaining this end.—Were these apprehensions well founded?

Oct. 4-8, 1801.

Feb. 9, 1801.

The fate of Egypt was determined from the departure of Buonaparte, who devolved the command on Kleber, Aug. 22, 1799. A British-Turkish army advanced from Syria, and conquered El-Arisch, Dec. 29. A convention was made with the grand vizier, Jan. 24, 1800. It was annulled, and the grand vizier was surprised and defeated at Heliopolis, March 20. General Kleber was murdered at Cairo and was followed by Menou, June 14. A British army under Abercrombie was sent out in Dec. and disembarked at Aboukir, March 8, while another, under Baird, came from the East Indies by way of the Red sea, in April. A victory was gained at Ramanié, March 21. Abercrombie died; and his successor, lord Hutchinson, made a convention at Cairo for the evacuation of Egypt, June 27. This was done, and Alexandria surrendered in Sept. Egypt was restored to the Porte.

WILSON'S *History of the British Expedition to Egypt.* London, 1800.—Respecting the importance of Egypt as a colony, consult:

HEEREN'S Tr[illegible] *Colonisation von Ægypten und ihre Folgen für das Europäische Staatensystem ueberhaupt* in: *Vermischte historische Schriften.* Th. ii. Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

21. By this issue, the principal obstacle which stood, for the present at least, in the way of the nearer approaches of England and France, was removed. The peace, which Portugal, attacked by Spain at the instigation of France, had to conclude with both, on condition of the cession of Olivenza, and the closing of its harbours to British vessels, was a new inducement. Thus the preliminaries, so long discussed in London, were soon concluded. The negotiations for the definitive peace, conducted at Amiens, led to the desired end in the ensuing spring. After the peace between France and England, that with the Porte could meet with no difficulty. June 6. Oct. 1.

Peace was concluded at Amiens between England on the one side, and France, Spain, and the Batavian republic on the other, March 25, 1802. Conditions: *a.* Restoration to France and its allies of all the conquests made by England, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, resigned by Spain, and Ceylon ceded by the Batavian republic. *b.* The Porte was to be preserved in its integrity. It was comprehended in the peace and was to be invited to join it. *c.* France recognised the republic of the Seven Islands. *d.* The island of Malta, with Gozzo and Comino, was to revert to the Order, to be evacuated within two months, to be occupied by Neapolitan troops, and its independence guaranteed by France, England, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. Neither the French nor English tongue was to prevail; the Maltese tongue was to be cultivated, and the returning knights were to elect a grand master from among themselves.

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The plenipotentiaries at Amiens were: from France, Joseph Buonaparte; from England, lord Cornwallis; preliminaries having already been negotiated in London by lord Hawkesbury and the French envoy, M. Otto; from Spain, don Jos. Nic. de Azarra; from the Batavian republic, the ambassador to Paris, Schimmelpennink.

Peace was concluded between France and the Porte, (according to the preliminaries previously agreed upon, Oct. 8, 1831.) *a.* Egypt was restored, and the possessions of both parties guaranteed. *b.* The old compacts were renewed, and the navigation of the Black sea opened to France. *c.* The republic of the Seven Islands was acknowledged. *d.* Mutual treatment on the footing of the most favoured states.

25. The conditions, on which the peace of Amiens was concluded, must excite the highest astonishment. The war had not been waged for Ceylon and Trinidad; but for the freedom of Europe. This was tacitly relinquished, for England seemed to renounce all participation in the affairs of the continent; even the evacuation of Holland was not stipulated. The war was therefore terminated, with its object still unattained; and the question, whether such a state of things, as this peace produced, could possibly continue long, must soon have become problematical.

26. This peace raised the first consul to the zenith of his renown. France retired from the conflict, with its interior well ordered and tranquillised, increased in territory, with all its colonies restored, and with but a slight loss on the part of its allies. All this, even the rebuilding

of the altars and the establishment of religious liberty, seemed his work: and together with the power of arms, he was surrounded by the still greater power of public opinion. It now stood in his choice to rule Europe without further contests. And he would have governed it, had he been able to—govern himself! Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

Buonaparte was appointed first consul for life, Aug. 4, 1802, after he had already been nominated president of the Italian republics, June 26. He took the title of mediator of Switzerland, Feb. 19, 1803. This transformation of the French constitution had a corresponding influence on the secondary states; the Batavian republic received a directory; the Ligurian a doge; even the little Lucca (for which no new name had been found) did not escape transformation.—The *Concordat* with the pope was concluded, July 15, 1801, ratified by the legislative body, April 8, 1802. Not only the catholic but also the protestant worship thus acquired its forms.

27. But the maintenance of public opinion, indispensable for the first magistrate of the republic, as it was still called, presupposed the maintenance of a great political character. He could not but sink in the former, in the same proportion as he was untrue to the latter; and the steps which undeceived the nations on this point followed in but too rapid succession!

28. The first great political transaction was the affair of the German indemnities, fixed at the peace of Luneville. It was prosecuted in Ratisbon, under the mediation of France and Russia, and the predominant influence and the policy of the former were here most clearly dis-

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played. While all the spiritual princes were deprived of their seats,—that only of the archchancellor of the empire, with whom it was not deemed possible to dispense, being retained, though transferred from Mayence to Ratisbon,—the temporal estates, being more or less favoured by France, shared their inheritance. Every German would rather turn his eyes from a transaction, which, though perhaps inevitable in itself, is revolting from the manner in which it was executed.

A preliminary convention was made at Paris between Russia and France, respecting the plan of indemnities, June 4, 1802. It was given up and a proclamation issued by the diet, Aug. 18. The sessions of the extraordinary deputation of the empire were opened Aug. 24; final resolve of that deputation Feb. 25, 1803. The most favoured, in comparison with their losses, were Prussia, and the states near the Rhine; and the easiest to be kept in dependence, Baden, Wirtemberg, and Nassau; less so Bavaria; least of all Austria. Two Italian princes also were directed to Germany, the great land for indemnities; Tuscany had to satisfy itself with Salzburg, Modena with Breisgau and Ortenau. Four new electoral hats were conferred on Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Salzburg; men no longer aspired to a dignity, which soon remained but an empty title.

29. Thus there was still a German empire, but not the old German empire. It was an aggregate of states under foreign influence, with the emperor as nominal sovereign. Antiquated as it was, the truth was soon confirmed, that the central state of Europe could not disappear without a general convulsion.

30. The scanty period of peace enjoyed by Europe gave a striking proof of the extraordinary energies of its inhabitants. All strove by applying themselves to industry, trade, and navigation, to heal the wounds that had been inflicted, and, deep as they were, a few years of peace would have been sufficient. But peace did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife, which soon received too ample support. England, perceiving its error, would not relinquish Malta, (the bulwark of Egypt, which France never lost from its sphere of vision,) and with it the dominion of the Mediterranean, nor would France concede these points; and the formal incorporation of plundered Piedmont, without any previous agreement, showed the nations of the continent that the natural boundaries, on which so much stress had been placed, were boundaries no more. Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

The restoration of Malta was refused, because after the abolition that had taken place of the Spanish and Bavarian tongue, it could not return to the Order in its old form. In Sept. 1802, a mission was instituted, and col. Sebastiani made an offensive report respecting the situation of Egypt and the Levant, Jan. 30, 1803, while on the other side the public animosity was inflamed by the constant paper war carried on by the journalists of London.

31. It was therefore soon manifest that the treaty of Amiens, though not intended as a mere armistice, was in reality nothing more; and the palm of peace had not not been planted a year,

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when it was torn up by a new war, more lasting and important than its authors had foreseen.

The king of England sent a message to parliament respecting the threatened security of the British territory, March 8, 1803. The negotiations of lord Whitworth at Paris were fruitless.—Great Britain declared war against France, May 18.

32. This war, however, in which the Batavian republic, and all the other daughter-states of France had to participate, was of an entirely different nature, since the two powers, the one strong on land and the other on sea, found few points of contact, notwithstanding all their desire to inflict mutual injuries. The occupation of the neutral Hanover, without the least indication of it having been previously given at Ratisbon, and without any remonstrance from the diet, was as indecisive as the vain, though ostentatious, display of forces for a descent on the coasts of the Channel. This display served rather to call the British nation to arms. France and England might be said to be in the condition of war, rather than actually at war; and who could foresee the end?

Hanover was occupied by general Mortier, after the convention at Sulingen, June 3; and the capitulation at Artlenburg, July 5.

33. But the immediate and widely important consequence of this war was the re-establishment of an hereditary throne in France, to which the consular constitution was only designed as a state of transition. But instead of the ancient

regal throne, an imperial one was erected; instead of the legitimate monarch it was ascended by a successful soldier, who, in defiance of all morality and policy, had just dipped his hands in the blood of a branch of the royal family. Europe, accustomed for a long time only to legitimate princes, was now to learn from a grand example how tyrants rise.

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March 20.

A decree of the senate was passed May 18, 1804, by which, at the proposal of the tribunate, the first consul was proclaimed emperor, and the dignity declared hereditary in his family. The votes were taken (those not voting were regarded as assenting,) and it was declared to be accepted by the nation, Nov. 6. Napoleon I. was accordingly crowned and anointed by Pius VII. as emperor of the French, Dec. 2.

THIRD PERIOD.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the establishment of the French imperial throne to the restoration of the political system of Europe by its fall; and the establishment of the freedom of America; from 1804 *to* 1821.

FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

Histoire abregée des traités de paix, entre les puissances de l'Europe, depuis la paix de Westphalie, par feu M. DE KOCH. *Ouvrage entièrement refondu, augmenté et continué jusqu'au Congrés de Vienne et aux traites de Paris de* 1815, par F. SCHOELL, conseiller d'ambassade de S. M. le roi de Prusse près la cour de France. Paris, 1817, vol. i.—xiv. We mention this very important, and indeed indispensable, work for modern history, in conformity with its principal contents, here rather than at vol. i. p. 201. The vols. vi.—xi. refer to the present period; the last three comprise the history of the system of the north. In connection with this work is:

Recueil de pièces officielles destinées à detromper les Français sur les evènements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années, par FRED. SCHOELL. Paris, 1814, vol. i.—ix. 8vo. The collection begins with the Russian campaign of 1812, but comprehends also the Spanish war and the disputes with the pope since 1808.

1. The project of universal monarchy, a project fraught with terror to former periods, had almost fallen into oblivion, when it was again revived in the breast of the man who had already advanced almost half way to this object. If we understand by this expression the dominion either direct or indirect of Europe, this can no longer be subject to doubt. The problem for the history of this period is to show how far, and by what means, he advanced on this way, till destiny, interposing, assisted the abused nations in recovering their liberty. Public contests in Europe. 1804-1821.

2. Never had a potentate in Europe such resources at command as the present emperor, Napoleon. His sovereignty in the interior was absolute, since the despotism of freedom had levelled every thing; the legislative body was mute after the weakening and subsequent abolition of the tribunate; while the so called conservative senate, was a ready instrument of tyranny, for freedom does not live in dead forms! Abroad, France extended to the Rhine and beyond the Alps, and the Italian republic, as it was now to be called, was soon changed into the kingdom of Italy, under Buonaparte's sceptre and his immediate dominion; Spain, Batavia, Helvetia, the rest of Italy, and the German states on the Rhine, were kept in dependence by alliances or by fear; by the occupation of Hanover, a French army was stationed in the heart of the Prussian monarchy and on Aug. 1807. March 17, 1805.

Public contests in Europe. 1804-1821.

the frontiers of Denmark; while Austria was liable to immediate invasion, whenever it should be deemed expedient. The distant Russia alone with Sweden stood erect, but with a more gloomy aspect since the murder of Enghien; and the dominion of the sea was out of the question.

All diplomatic relations with France were broken off on the side of Russia, Aug. 28, and of Sweden, Sept. 1804. Both refused to acknowledge the new imperial dignity.

Dec 27, 1804.

3. The repeated solemn assurance, that the territory of France should be enlarged by no further incorporations, seemed, indeed, to fix the future boundaries; but who could repose any trust in an assurance, which was violated, almost before it was given, by the incorporation June, 1805. of the Ligurian republic? The insulting language, which the new ruler employed in his bulletins against foreign princes, could hardly serve to conciliate their minds. Is not such language still more irritating in public than in private life? And though the newly-erected throne was called the re-established throne of Charlemagne, this very expression sufficiently showed, that there was no room for it in the old system of Europe.

4. Under these circumstances, in England the helm of state was a second time committed to August, 1804. William Pitt. Who, that knew his ancient policy and the new relations, could doubt of his attempts to form a new combination against France? By this he only anticipated the wishes of Na-

poleon, who could no longer permit his army to parade idly on the Channel.—The war was already enlarged by the participation of Spain, which had hitherto been able to purchase its fluctuating neutrality only by subsidies to France; and Portugal began to be threatened as partial to France.

Public contests in Europe. 1804-1821.

Oct. 30, 1803.

The Spanish galleons, returning with their treasures, were taken before Cadjz, Oct. 5, 1804. War was declared against England, after reiterated negotiations, Dec. 12, retaliated by England, Jan. 11, 1805.

FR. GENTZ, *authentische Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen England und Spanien*, 1806.

5. The third coalition against France was formed. England was its centre; a general rising of Europe was, according to Pitt's plan, to reduce France to its old bounds, and the independence of the states was to be secured by judicious regulations and divisions. That the restoration of the old royal house was in that case a necessary condition, no one ventured to affirm; so far did it then lay without the province of probability.

6. But although in part effected, the project of Pitt could be only half executed; and even the formation of this coalition is involved in an obscurity which time alone can fully explain. Though it was joined by Sweden, Russia, and Austria, Prussia on the contrary, obstinately insisting on a neutrality, of which it soon had most bitter cause to repent, was not to be

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gained And yet, without Prussia's accession, no efficient attack on France was possible. Its mere neutrality was a full protection to the northern half of the French empire.

England contracted an alliance with Russia, April 11; with Sweden, (which was already allied to Russia, Jan. 14,) August, 31, renewed Oct. 3, 1805. A Russian-Swedish army was to land in Pomerania. Had the power and understanding of Gustavus IV. been equal to his hatred and perseverance, Napoleon would have found in him his most formidable opponent. Austria acceded to the alliance between England and Russia, August 9. British subsidies, and an army of five hundred thousand men, were to restore the freedom of Europe, without dictating to France in the least with respect to its internal affairs. On the other hand, by the treaty with Napoleon, June 25, Naples was forced to permit the entrance of French troops; which were afterwards designedly withdrawn.

FR. GENTZ, *Fragmente aus der neusten Geschichte des politischen Gleichgewichts in Europa*, 1806. Unfortunately, only the fragments of an imperfect work, containing a preface written with the pen of Tacitus in a season of despondency.

7. The war broke out after fruitless negotiations; and the whole plan of the allies was overthrown by the attack made on the Austrian army near the Iller, (where Mack was opposed to Napoleon,) before the Russians could join it. After its annihilation, in the lapse of a few days, the projected aggressive war in Italy fell away of itself; and, being reinforced on his march by the accession of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, Napoleon was able to march to the imperial city.

Ulm capitulated, October 17; after which the other detachments of the army, separated, were almost all taken prisoners.—The Italian army under the archduke Charles, notwithstanding the successful battle at Caldiero, Oct. 30, retreated to the boundary of Croatia.—The French entered Vienna, Nov. 13.

8. The Russians upon their arrival found only the remains of the army which they were to have joined, and the assistance which they were able to afford them on the bloody day at Austerlitz in Moravia, was but slight. When they were compelled to retreat, there was no alternative to the humbled and abandoned Austria, but to receive the conditions of peace which were offered. It was concluded at Presburg after short deliberation. Dec. 2.

Conditions of the peace at Presburg, Dec. 26: *a.* France was to keep all the countries in Italy which were embodied with it, or administered by French laws (Piedmont, Parma, and Piacenza). *b.* Austria resigned all that she had acquired from Venice (including therefore Dalmatia, formerly belonging to Venice, and bordering on the Turkish empire) to the Italian kingdom, and recognised Napoleon as its king. *c.* Bavaria and Wirtemberg received the royal dignity with full sovereignty in all their possessions, old as well as new. *d.* Austria ceded to Bavaria the whole of Tyrol with Voralberg, and the bishoprics of Brescia and Trent, Burgau, Eichstadt, Passau, Lindau, and several principalities; Augsburg also fell to Bavaria. *e.* It gave to Wirtemberg and Baden the nearer Austrian countries, of which Baden obtained the greater part of the Breisgau, Ortenau, and the city Constance; and Wirtemberg the rest. *f.* Austria obtained Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden, as a duchy; besides the hereditary dignity (already secularised) of grand master of the Teutonic order;

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the elector of Salzburg was indemnified on the part of Bavaria by Wurzburg as an electorate. *g.* Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the rest of the Austrian monarchy.

The negotiators at Presburg were: Talleyrand, and prince Lichtenstein, with count Giulay.

9. The peace at Presburg was not universal, since Russia still remained in a state of war. But a new and important step towards universal dominion was made. The power of Austria was broken; deprived of its bulwarks Tyrol and Venice, its security now consisted in the fidelity of the inhabitants. The southern states of Germany were still more closely connected with France; and, by a crafty division, aggrandised in appearance more than in reality; for how willingly could Bavaria have dispensed with Tyrol so that she retained Wurzburg! With the custom of exchanges of lands, all security of possession had vanished, and the most sacred ties, which had hitherto bound the nations to their princes, as well as the princes to their nations, were dissolved.

10. The first instance of a royal family being
Dec. 27. dethroned by bare proclamation, occurred at Naples, and Buonaparte laid the foundation of his family in Europe by the promotion of Joseph his elder brother, and of Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted step-son, to the vice-royalty of Italy; while the family itself was by a special law, slavishly subjected to its head.

The neutrality of Naples, which had been evacuated, was

said to have been violated, by the landing of a corps composed of English and Russians, from Corfu; it is uncertain whether in compliance with, or against, the will of the king. A proclamation was issued from Schönbrun, Dec. 27, 1805, declaring, "That the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign," and on Feb. 25, 1806, Naples was occupied, and Joseph the new king entered and was proclaimed king of both Sicilies, while the court of Naples retired to Palermo. The narrow strait of Messina was sufficient to limit the power of the conqueror. His sisters were provided for in Lucca, Piombino, and Guastalla; which last, but a short time after it had been conferred, March 30, was again resumed in order to be joined to France with Parma and Piacenza, July 21, 1805; for the blind arbitrary will of the emperor was displayed in small as well as in great affairs.

11. During these triumphs on the continent, the freedom of Europe would have been vindicated on the ocean, had it there been at issue. The expeditions of smaller and larger French squadrons to the East and West Indies, which England could not prevent, were without permanent results; the colonies that had been restored fell again, almost without resistance, into the hands of the English; and the battle of Trafalgar, a double victory by the glorious death of Nelson, almost entirely destroyed at one blow the navies of France and Spain, and all the plans which had been founded on them. Feb. 1805.

Surinam was taken, April 29, 1804; Gorée, March 8; the Cape, Jan. 18, 1806; from which an unsuccessful attack was made on Buenos Ayres, July 2, 1806, and after it had been repelled, Aug. 12, was vainly repeated, July, 1807.

12. The messengers of those defeats, by which

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the third coalition was dissolved, found its author on his death-bed. Impoverished and involved in debt, (for in his intense devotion to his country and Europe he had never thought of himself,) and with a broken heart, died the man, who to his last breath had maintained the cause of liberty. He left no heir of his greatness; but he left a school which had imbibed his maxims, and was yet one day to be victorious. And although his opponent was his successor, his brief administration was destined only to justify the policy of his predecessor.

William Pitt died Jan. 23, 1806.—The ministry of Grenville and Fox was compounded of different elements. The negotiations carried on with France since Feb. soon demonstrated that the man of the people is not always the man of the state.—Napoleon refused to negotiate with England and Russia in common, April 1. And after a separate discussion had been agreed upon, a new contest arose with England respecting the basis of the peace, the *uti possidetis*; and the deliberations with Russia were broken off, the compact made by the Russian minister Oubril, July 20, not having been ratified. With the death of Fox all hopes of peace disappeared, which, however, would hardly have been even a miserable armistice.—Whether Pitt or Fox were the greater is still made a question in England; but what would have become of Europe had Fox stood in the place of Pitt? The constant advocate of ideas, apparently or really liberal, will always enjoy the public favour, while the truly great minister is above courting popularity.

Speeches of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox in the House of Commons. London, 1815, 6 vols. Fox has had no want of panegyric biographies, while the greatest statesman of his time was destitute of a worthy historian till his former

instructor, the bishop of Winchester, attempted to supply the chasm, in a work of six volumes: *The life of W. Pitt.* How much history was buried with Pitt! Public contests in Europe. 1804-1815.

13. As if in complete ignorance of what was passing on the continent, Fox, on his death-bed, negotiated for peace. The consequences of the compact of Presburg were developed rapidly and fearfully for Europe; and the error was soon dissipated of those who had erroneously presumed that neutrality could be preserved towards him who wished for no neutrality, and could wish for none on the road to his object. Prussia now stood directly in his way; during the war its neutrality had already been set at nought by the march of French armies through one of its provinces. And the transactions after the peace, by forcing on Prussia the garment of Nessus for several of its provinces in Hanover, plunged it into such embarrassment that its fall could be foreseen even before the contest.

The disputes with Prussia had their origin in Bernadotte's arbitrary march from Hanover to the Danube, by way of Anspach, Oct. 1805. Prussia began to make preparations after the war had been actually decided at Ulm and Austerlitz. Haugwitz was peacefully sent to Vienna, and obtaining an audience not till *after* the battle at Austerlitz, concluded a treaty, Dec. 15; according to which the tranquillity of northern Germany was to be peremptorily purchased on condition, that *a.* Prussia should cede to France the province of Anspach, the still remaining Cleves and Neufchatel; and in return: *b.* Should take possession of Hanover. Reduced to the alternative of accepting the treaty or war, the just disposi-

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tion of the king was yet more deeply mortified by the circumstance; that the *provisory* occupation of Hanover, proclaimed Jan. 26, 1806, had to be changed by a supplementary treaty of March 9, into a definitive one, of which the immediate consequences were: the declaration of war by England, April 20, and the capture of the Prussian merchant vessels; and even a state of war with Sweden, since Gustavus IV. would not relinquish Lauenburg, which he occupied for Hanover. A compromise was at last effected with him, August 22.

14. The cessions exacted from Prussia were employed to augment the dominion of the family of the emperor. To his brother-in-law Joachim Murat, Cleves and Berg were assigned as a grand duchy; instead of Berg, Bavaria, having been drawn into the family interest by the marriage of the viceroy, received Anspach; and Neufchatel was granted as a principality to the bosom friend and constant companion of the emperor, marshal Berthier. What prince must not have trembled on his throne at perceiving the continually increasing number of those for whom provision was to be made?

Jan. 14, 1806.

Murat was appointed hereditary grand duke of Cleves and Berg, March 23, "for guarding the frontiers of the empire;" Berthier, hereditary prince of Neufchatel, March 3. Even the arch-chancellor elector did not refuse to appoint, of his own accord, the step-uncle of the emperor, cardinal Fesch, his successor as coadjutor, May 28.

15. But this family power acquired a more important augmentation about this time by the change of the Batavian republic into a kingdom. A mere decree—which had first to be solicited—

was sufficient to overthrow the republic, and erect upon its ruins a new throne for Louis, a younger brother of the emperor. When this was formerly attempted by Louis XIV. half Europe had taken up arms, while now not even a single voice was raised against it.

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This transformation had been already prepared by the revolution of April 29, 1805, by which a chief was placed at the head in the person of the Grand Pensionary, as he was called, —almost in actual mockery of this unhappy state.—A preliminary contract was made, May 24, 1806, and the royal constitution was promulgated, June 10, modelled after that of France. By it Louis Buonaparte was declared hereditary king of Holland, but always in subordination to the family statute. Thus was his dependence more than sufficiently secured.

16. After such advances little seemed to be wanting to universal dominion but the name. The federative system was now loudly spoken of,—called by others the gravitation system,—which was to take the place of the balance of power. Less was said of the great nation, but more of the great empire. A decree of the senate had already given the monarch the surname of Great, and, religion itself being perverted to flattery, the solemnisation of St. Napoleon's day, rendered it intelligible how in ancient times at Rome tyrants could be transferred to the number of the gods.

Jan. 26, 1806.

Aug. 15.

A difference arose between France *(la France)* and the French empire *(empire Français.)* It is no less interesting

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to pursue the ideas connected with this subject and gradually developing themselves, than in the case of the *Socii Populi Romani* of old.

17. And yet there were many impediments to be removed. Though the German empire was only a form, yet the form itself of the ancient central state of Europe was troublesome, because it obstructed a new arrangement. History was to give a new example how states outlive themselves. A simple declaration of the new potentate to the diet, that he no longer recognised the German empire, was sufficient to subvert the structure of a thousand years. In consequence Austria voluntarily laid aside the imperial crown of Germany, adopting instead the hereditary imperial crown of Austria. Only in the heart of Germans did the German emperor survive.

Aug. 1, 1806.

Aug. 6.

18. But not the empire alone, the very name even of German, for this too he hated, was if possible to disappear. On the fallen ruins of the ancient edifice a new one was immediately erected; of which the first authors have refused to betray their names to posterity. At the same time with the declaration mentioned above, another was submitted to the diet by the princes of southern Germany, to the effect, that, renouncing their old connection, they had formed a new one, of which Napoleon was the protector, under the appellation of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The constitution of the Confederation of the Rhine was framed and signed, July 12, by Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Berg, the archchancellor, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, and Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm and Salm-Kirburg, Isenburg, Aremberg, Lichtenstein, and the count of Leyen, forming altogether a strange combination; the three preceding the last, being uninvited; the last, a relation of the archchancellor. The ministers who signed it cannot for that reason be regarded, on the whole, as its authors. The subscribers made a declaration at the diet of Aug. 1. Though all the German princes gradually joined it, with the exception of Austria, Brandenburg, the houses of Brunswick and the electorate of Hesse, (Swedish Pomerania and Holstein were united, the former with Sweden, the latter with Denmark, Sept. 9, 1806,) it cannot be regarded as a voluntary accession; it was the only means of safety.

19. This new combination was the more revolting, since it was at the same time the sentence of death to many small princes and free cities; of which the former were incorporated into the larger powers, the latter taken possession of. Thus the validity of the right of the stronger was enforced, and would not this soon end in the right of the strongest? The affair itself was revolting enough; yet the treatment of the reduced princes by more than one of their new rulers was still worse.

The aggrandisements were made, partly by mutual cessions, according to the system of contiguity, partly by confiscation of the proscribed estates of the Teutonic order, and partly by the reduction of the smaller princes. The archchancellor was changed into a prince primate, and obtained Frankfort with its territory; while Nuremberg was allotted to Bavaria.

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The electoral hats were laid aside; but the princes became dukes, and dukes became archdukes, and counts became princes!

20. It was soon evident that this confederacy was no union, but merely an attachment to the protector to favour his purposes. The duties towards him, participation in all his wars, and the aid to be furnished, were most strictly defined and exacted; but of the diet, which was to assemble at Frankfort in two chambers, that of the kings and that of the princes, nothing was ever said, except in the act of confederation. In return, the protector remunerated them with the magic word of sovereignty; a mockery for subjects; but unjustly used by some for destroying the constitutions of their states, and the legitimate relations towards their people, concerning whom the protector gave himself no trouble. The humble are always prone to follow the example of tyranny in the exalted.

Sovereignty, with respect to foreign countries, denotes the independence of one state of another, and need not first be conferred, for it belongs naturally to every state as such. Did the confederates of the Rhine possess it in relation to their head?—With respect to the interior, it denotes the possession of the supreme power; but by no means the sole right of legislation without consulting the nation. And even if it meant this, whence had the protector a right to confer it?

21. Another great stride had been taken towards universal dominion, by the erection of the Confederation of the Rhine. Not only was it henceforth impossible to form a league in

Germany against France, but each German state was now individually chained to France by fetters of iron. Thus was prepared the fall of Prussia, now in reality isolated. Could Napoleon rule Germany, so long as this power stood upright?

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The erection of the Confederation of the Rhine without the knowledge of Prussia, which was the party most interested in it, was in itself an injury; but the invitation to establish a northern confederacy in Germany seemed almost derision.—The incorpation of Wesel, July 29, the taking of Essen and Werden, the ill-treatment of the prince of Orange—were so many challenges; while French armies in the midst of peace occupied half Germany. But the certainty, that France had offered, in the negotiations with England, to take from Prussia that very Hanover she had forced upon it, brought to maturity the determination to make war.—After the negotiations in Paris by Knobelsdorf had been broken off, Prussia declared war, Oct. 8, 1806.

22. The situation of Prussia at the beginning of the war was dangerous, both within and without. The whole strength of the state, the military and civil classes being wholly separate, depended on an unpractised army, under a general, who had already outlived himself. It was without allies abroad except Russia, whose armies were at a distance, and Saxony, half on compulsion; while Hesse imagined it possible to maintain a neutrality, though disunited not merely from England, but also from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. It was thus thrown upon its own resources, during the de-

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cisive days, when it had to contend against an almost double force. But no kingdom has ever been in modern times so utterly overthrown by one battle, as Prussia was by that at Jena and Auerstadt! In a few weeks, all its provinces as far as the Vistula, with their fastnesses, were in the hands of the enemy, and even beyond that stream the royal house found an asylum only under Russian protection.

The Prussian army was collected in Thuringia under the command of the duke of Brunswick, Sept. and Oct., and suffered a total defeat in the battle at Jena and Auerstadt, Oct. 14, 1806.—The army, put to flight and dispersed, were in part taken prisoners; and the duke, severely wounded, and expelled moreover from his own country, died at Altona, Nov. 10. The fortresses (with the exception of Colberg and Graudentz,) were most incredibly surrendered, and even Magdeburg, Nov. 8, to the utter surprise of the enemy himself. A separate peace and alliance were concluded with Saxony at Posen, Dec. 11, which, being raised to a kingdom, Dec. 20, acceded to the Confederation of the Rhine. On the other side, the elector of Hesse was surprised and expelled, Nov. 1,—in reward of his neutrality,—and all his territories, both of Hanover and Brunswick, with the Hanseatic cities were occupied. "The houses of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick had ceased to reign."

23. With Prussia, the bulwark of Russia had fallen; on its boundaries, the victor conceived another project, the restoration of Poland; by which he might obtain, perhaps a spy on Russia. The erection of a Polish legion, (see p. 198,) had proved, that from the beginning this country lay within the horizon of the potentate; but the

inevitable certainty of giving offence to three leading powers in the full execution of his plan, made him more cautious than ever, so that for this time the restoration remained partial, after the insurrection had been created.

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The Poles were summoned to insurrection, under the abused name of Kosciusko, Nov. 1.—The insurrection spread in Prussian Poland; and an auxiliary army was formed.

24. Thus the war was transferred, as if by magic, from the banks of the Saal to the banks of the Vistula; and Russia, which was moreover involved in a war with the Porte, (see below,) had to defend its own frontiers. Old Prussia was the theatre of a devastating war; and though Russian valour was there tried, it was nevertheless seen, how difficult it was for this power, to concentrate great masses of troops, out of its boundaries. It was found impossible to relieve so important a place as Dantzic.

After several bloody combats at Pultusk, etc. the grand battle was fought at Preussisch-Eylau, Feb. 8, 1807. Though indecisive, it led to the fall of the bravely defended Dantzic, May 24. After several skirmishes, another great conflict took place at Friedland, June 14. Konigsberg was taken, and the Russian and Prussian armies retreated across the Niemen; Memel, the last city in the kingdom, was the only refuge that remained to the royal house of Prussia.

25. The battle of Friedland led to an armistice, and soon afterwards to a peace, the motives of which require further explanation. After a personal meeting of the two emperors in the

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middle of the Niemen, it was concluded at Tilsit. The czar still needed, it seems, personal experience, that no concessions could gain the friendship of the conqueror.

A truce was agreed upon between France and Russia, June 21, while Prussia, left to itself, made its pacification on the 25th. The two monarchs met on the Niemen, June 25. Peace was concluded between Russia and France at Tilsit, July 7, 1807. *a.* The provinces to be returned to Prussia were fixed. *b.* Russia recognised the duchy of Warsaw, consisting of South Prussia as before, and a part of West Prussia, under the king of Saxony. *c.* Dantzic was declared again a free city. *d.* A part of New East Prussia, the government Bialystock, was ceded to Russia. *e.* Russia recognised Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as king of Holland, (to which it promised also to relinquish the lordship of Jever,) and Jerome Buonaparte as king of the newly-erected kingdom of Westphalia. *f.* Russia likewise acknowledged the Confederation of the Rhine, not only in its present extent and constituent parts, but also in its future enlargements, on mere notice being given. *g.* Mutual guarantee of the state of both parties and of their allies, who were included in the treaty. *h.* Russia at the same time concluded an armistice with the Porte, withdrew its forces from Moldavia and Walachia, which remained unoccupied by the Turks; and accepted the mediation of Napoleon. *i.* Napoleon accepted the mediation of Russia with England, on condition that England should accept of it within a month after the exchange of the present treaty. *j.* In a *secret* article (Moniteur, July 8, 1812) Russia entered upon an obligation to make common cause with France, in case England should reject the peace, with the acknowledgement of the freedom of the ocean; to require the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to do the same; and to declare war against England.

The negotiators of the peace of Tilsit with Russia were Talleyrand and prince Kurakin.

26. The peace with Prussia, concluded two days after, by which about half of the monarchy was returned as a gift of charity, reduced this state, in extent and material power, to a state of the second rank. But this loss of territory was not its greatest misfortune. The oppression it had to bear in the peace, and the most contemptuous treatment, which only the haughty conqueror can allow himself to exercise, seemed, —if any object can be ascribed to it,—to justify the suspicion, that his only wish was to urge it to the resistance of despair, in order to complete the half-perfected work, as in the case of Venice and Naples, and elsewhere, and to declare that, "The house of Brandenburg had ceased to reign." Does not a moral degradation inflict a deeper wound on a generous people than a political? Or must this first occur, to make it felt by all, that life is not the first of blessings?

The conditions of the peace at Tilsit, between France and Prussia, July 9, 1807: 1. Prussia received back the territories it was not required to resign. 2. Prussia ceded and left to the disposition of the French emperor: *a.* All its possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine without exception. *b.* The circle of Cotbuss to Saxony. *c.* All its provinces acquired since 1772 from Poland; (all of South Prussia, and a part of West Prussia and New East Prussia,) of which the duchy of Warsaw was formed, and consigned to the king of Saxony. *d.* The city of Dantzic with its territory. 3. Prussia recognised Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as king of Holland, and Jerome Buonaparte

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as king of Westphalia, as also the formation of this kingdom from the ceded Prussian and other countries. 4. All Prussian harbours and countries should remain closed, till the future peace, against British navigation and trade. 5. All sums and monies, which were imposed on private persons or institutions in the restored provinces, or on Prussian institutions in the ceded provinces, should revert to the owners. 6. All further points respecting the return and evacuation of the provinces and fortresses, were to be regulated by a particular convention, which was concluded at Konigsberg, on July 12. The entire evacuation of the Prussian territory by the 1st of Oct. was promised, on condition of the payment of all contributions levied since Nov. 1, 1806, and still in arrears. But instead of the 19 millions of francs, according to Prussian reckoning, the French estimate fixed it at 112 millions; even this, after long negotiations and unheard of oppressions, was arbitrarily augmented to 140 millions, Sept. 8, 1808. And after 120 millions of this had been already paid, the evacuation was accorded, Nov. 3, only under the proviso, that three fortresses, Stettins, Custrin, and Glogau, should be occupied, and provisioned at the expense of Prussia. Dantzic also, though a free city, received a French garrison. And yet amidst all this public misery, the university of Berlin was founded to supply the loss of Halle. So high does intellectual culture stand in the regard of a German state!—Prussia had already concluded peace with England at Memel, Jan. 28, 1807, in consideration of renouncing all claims to Hanover.

27. The peace at Tilsit determined likewise, though in a very different manner, the political relations with the Porte and Sweden. To the former it gave quiet and restored a province already lost; on the latter it brought down renewed war, and soon afterwards, the loss of almost half its territory.

In consequence of the dominion of the British in the Me-

diterranean, the occupation of Corfu by Russian troops, and the insurrection and war of liberty of the Servians, favoured by them, under their heroic leader Czerni George, after 1801, on the one side, and the neighbourhood of France through the cession of Dalmatia (see p. 267) on the other, the situation of the Porte had become much more critical in the eyes of every one but itself. General Sebastiani was sent thither in 1806, and demanded that the connection, renewed with England and Russia, (Dec. 30, 1805,) should be dissolved, Sept. 16, and acquired an increasing influence in the Divan. Russia anticipated a movement, and occupied Moldavia in Nov. The Porte declared war on Russia, Jan. 7, 1807. The Turks lost a naval battle at Lemnos, July 1, but no further use of their victory was made by the Russians. An English squadron also appeared for the first time, though in vain, before Constantinople, Feb. 20.—In consequence of the peace of Tilsit, a truce was made at Sloboja, Aug. 24, and Moldavia was evacuated.—The relations of France with Sweden, after the armistice already concluded in Pomerania at Schlatkov, July 3, had been annulled in a most ill-fated hour, were inimical, and were soon the cause of war with Russia.

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28. After such pacifications, the universal dominion of Buonaparte seemed to be sufficiently established on the European continent. Russia, expressly renouncing all influence, appeared no longer to belong to it; on its frontier the duchy of Warsaw was a rival, striving after aggrandisement; Prussia, overthrown and dismembered; Austria, humbled; Germany, fettered to France by the enlargement of the Confederation of the Rhine, and by the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia, as it was called, at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick, (though never acknowledged by the three last); French

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princes on the thrones of Holland and Italy; Spain in alliance; from the Pyrenees to the Vistula, French dominion, French law, and, in the midst of peace, French armies—where could any hope survive, unless it were in Britain?

The decree for the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia was promulgated, Aug. 18, 1807, and afterwards increased by the rest of Hanover, Feb. 1810. Half the domains were reserved, together with the property of the cloisters, for the endowment of French officers.

29. But a new and greater storm was gathering against Britain. By the peace of Tilsit—contrary to all expectation—Russia had been made beforehand not merely a spectator, but an active participator in it, by the secret articles. Dependence was placed on the voluntary or forcible co-operation of the fleet of Denmark. This, however, was anticipated by England, and the compelled surrender of the Danish fleet, in consequence of the bombardment of Copenhagen, gave her an accession of security, though not of renown.

Had the committing of the mediation to Russia at the peace of Tilsit, (the consequences of which were easily foreseen,) any other object than to estrange Russia and England?—The refusal to impart the secret articles (which were learned, however, through other channels,) could but check confidence between the two states; and if at such a juncture, proportionably petty motives, like the refusal of a loan, or the demand of commercial concessions, operated on either side, it was one of those moments, of which policy but too soon repents.—The attack on Copenhagen, the triumph of French artifice, brought

the war to an open rupture. Russia declared war against England, Nov. 7, 1808.—Another consequence was, an alliance of Denmark with France, Oct. 31, 1807, which was to open to the latter power the road to Sweden.

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30. And yet it was too evident, that even the connection with Russia could not compel impregnable England to peace by open force. This then was to be effected in another way, and the continental system, as it was termed,—the total exclusion of England from all trade and all communication with the continent,—was brought forward. Though the idea itself was by no means new, it was made so by the extent and mode of its enforcement. Practical tyranny was unveiled in all its odious characters in the system of customs and espionage; and while the despot involved himself in a conflict with nature herself, who dictates the exchange of the productions of every zone, he began a contest, of which the final issue could not be doubtful to the intelligent observer.

The idea of the continental system originated in America (see p. 91); but its enforcement in such an extent was a result, and at the same time a proof, of Napoleon's universal dominion. Its corner-stone was laid by the decrees of Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806, as a fundamental law of the empire, till England should recognise the French maritime law: by them, *a.* The British islands were declared in a state of blockade. *b.* Every English subject on the continent was declared a prisoner of war. *c.* All trade in English merchandise was prohibited; and all articles of its manufactures or its colonies were confiscated. *d.* No vessel should be admitted from a British harbour or its colonies. These regulations were met

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by the British orders in council, Jan. 7, 1807, which prohibited every ship from entering any French port, or any port under French influence, under pain of confiscation. This was followed by the decree of Warsaw, Jan. 25, 1807, declaring that all British commodities were confiscated in the (just occupied) Hanseatic cities, without respect of owners. This decree was retaliated, March 11, by a strict blockade of the Elbe and Weser; and the order in council of Nov. 11, declaring all ports from which the British flag was excluded to be in a state of blockade; and that all ships proceeding thither should be captured, unless they had touched at a British port and paid a duty. This was answered by the decree of Milan, Dec. 17, 1807, by which every ship, which should submit to these conditions, was declared *denationalised*, and a lawful prize. Thus all the navigation of neutrals was suppressed.—Would it not have been—especially with respect to the United States of America—more politic and more worthy of England to have replied to the first decree by silence?—Finally by the frantic decree of Fontainbleau, Oct. 19, 1810, it was ordered that all British manufactures should be burned from Naples to Holland, and from Spain to Germany. Instead of the pyres of the inquisition of belief, those of the inquisition of commerce were now reared, often the objects of ridicule to those by whom they were kindled. And yet the love of gain was stronger than madness. By the decrees of Trianon, Aug. 5, and Sept. 12, 1810, permission was given to import colonial commodities on payment of a duty of 50 per cent. on their value. And finally—will posterity believe it?—a formal trade was allowed to be carried on by *licenses*, contrary to his own decrees! The contraband trade was carried on to an incredible extent, which no lines of custom-houses and no oaths could prevent.

Napoleon has a right to demand, that his policy should be viewed from his own position. This is done to the utmost in the *Manuscrit venu de St. Helene*, London, 1817, written by him. The open avowal, that "he never took into consideration the right, but only the matter," p. 6. applied to the

assertion, that "he had made it his aim as emperor, not only to rule France, but to subdue the world," p. 28. gives the fullest key to his policy, to which we have certainly but little reason to object the want of consistency. After such a confession, the judiciousness of the measures he adopted, and not their morality and justice, is to be considered. We shall therefore have, hereafter, to view them from this point only.

31. The consequences of this system were alike pernicious both in a mercantile and political respect. By the continental system, the despot put himself in opposition to our whole civilisation. It was most closely connected with commerce, and this, prosecuted for a long time with every portion of the earth, could not be reduced to a miserable internal trade, without being followed by its destruction. What was all the trade in woad and beet-root in comparison with the trade of the two Indies? Domestic manufacturers, it was said, were the gainers. But is the gain of the manufacturers at the same time a sure gain of the people at large, so long as they do not offer as good and cheap commodities as foreign countries?

32. In a political point of view, the continental system was a false system, because it rested on the double assumption, that the foreign commerce of the British was to them the grand source of acquisition, and that this would be annihilated by closing the continent. Experience has shown the contrary. If single sources of gain failed, a people, that ruled every sea, could easily open others. Was it not the very

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discovery of the secret, that, in case of necessity, the continent itself might be foregone—at least for a long time—which must have made Great Britain invincible in her own estimation.

33. But it was easy to foresee the consequences, which the continental system must have upon the dominion of the emperor on the continent itself. Its entire impoverishment would have imposed a limit; for among the continental states themselves—France only was to be benefitted at the cost of others, even of its allies—there existed any thing but freedom of traffic; and such a compulsion must have been short in proportion to the strictness with which it was enforced. The feeling of intolerable oppression must have created the greater opposition, and soon resistance, in proportion to the number of those who had been forced to submit. It is instructive to see, in a new example, how tyranny becomes the mother of liberty.

Russia and Prussia acceded to the continental system by the treaty of Tilsit; Denmark by its alliance; the Confederation of the Rhine, Holland, and Italy, by their relations; Austria and Spain, in Jan. 1808; and at last even Sweden in 1810. At the two extremities of Europe, there remained Portugal, and the Porte; to which the whole system was probably a riddle, and which self-interest still prompted to spare.

34. Projects were planned against Portugal, which was devoted to England, in order to prepare the way for greater plans against Spain.

But first Spain itself was to assist in overthrowing Portugal. The partition of Portugal was concerted in a secret treaty, and Spain was assured of its share of the spoil; while a French-Spanish army marched against Lisbon.

A secret treaty was signed at Fontainbleau, Oct. 27, 1807, between Duroc and don Izquierdo. Portugal was divided into three parts; the northern, Lusitania, was destined for the king of Etruria, who relinquished his kingdom to Napoleon (in consequence, the queen of Etruria abdicated, Dec. 10, see above p. 251).; Lusitania was occupied by French troops. The second, Algarves, was for the prince of Peace; the third, the main part, was to remain in sequestration till the peace, in favour of France. A French army of twenty-eight thousand men, combined with eleven thousand Spaniards, marched through Spain against Portugal: a greater army was assembled at Bayonne.—It was therefore a conspiracy of a father against his own children; if, indeed Charles IV. knew more of it, than his favourite wished.

35. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise. Though the throne of Portugal fell, and although it was there declared, that "The house of Braganza had ceased to reign," a new and greater one arose on the other side of the ocean. On British advice and under British protection, the royal house emigrated to Brazil.

Lisbon was entered by Junot, Dec. 1, after the court had set sail to Brazil, with troops and treasures, Nov. 30 previous. Many Spanish fortresses had alredy been craftily occupied on the march through Spain.—And under pretence of occupying Etruria, the flower of the Spanish troops was sent to Italy; whence they were transferred to Denmark in 1807, after the

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cession of this country, in order to threaten Sweden; but they soon escaped from Fühnen, under their leader Romana, in English ships, to their oppressed country, 1808.

36. Hitherto, enemies only had been driven from their thrones; Spain was to show that friends and allies—for Napoleon had long ruled in Spain under these titles—were no more secure on theirs. Charles IV. had seen and aided in the expulsion of his brother, his daughter, and his son-in-law; it was now his own turn. Dispossessed by the rebellion of his own son, allured with him and his family into the snare of the robber of crowns, and deprived of his throne and liberty, the Spanish house was doomed to exhibit scenes to the astonished world, similar to those of the ancient regal houses, whose crimes and fall had long been the exclusive property of the tragic stage.—Thus all the Bourbons in succession had been compelled to descend from their thrones.

The plan against Spain was, to take advantage of the internal discord in the royal family, kept up and managed by French agents. A rupture was occasioned by the hatred that Ferdinand, prince of Austria, entertained towards the all-directing favourite, don Manuel Godoy, who, wholly devoted to France, had permitted himself to be used, since his elevation, as Napoleon's instrument. Ferdinand was imprisoned, Oct. 30, 1807, on the charge that he had attempted the life of his father. He was released, Nov. 3, and his pretended accomplices acquitted; but from that time there was mutual animosity. The people became exasperated with the ministers, while a second French army, under Murat, approached the

capital. A popular insurrection, having arisen in Aranjuez, March 16, 1808, soon spread to Madrid; the prince of Peace was arrested, and Charles IV. abdicated, March 19. The accession of Ferdinand VII. and the fall of the minister would have frustrated the plans of Napoleon, had not Charles IV. protested against his own abdication as forced. Napoleon arrived at Bayonne, April 15, whither Ferdinand was inveigled by Savary, April 20, as also his parents, April 30. By the treaty of Bayonne, May 5, Charles IV. consigned to the disposition of Napoleon the Spanish monarchy, in consideration of—the castle and park of Compiegne and a pension. The weak father, now the accuser of his own son, demanded the renunciation of his rights to the succession. After the threat of Napoleon, "death or abdication," Ferdinand renounced all his rights by the convention of May 10.—The royal family was removed to Compiegne, Ferdinand and his brother to Valençay, where they were detained as prisoners under Talleyrand's supervision.

Thick as was the veil, which it was attempted to throw over this tissue of wickedness, it was soon removed by the secretary of state: PEDRO CEVALLOS: *Exposé des moyens employés par l'empereur Napoléon pour usurper la couronne d'Espagne*, publiés à Madrit, Sept. 1, 1808.—And afterwards: *Exposé des motifs qui ont engagé en* 1808. *S. M. C. Ferdinand VII. à se rendre à Bayonne, présenté à l'Espagne et à l'Europe*, par D. JUAN ESCOIQUIZ. Paris, 1816. Both were men of the best information, as eye-witnesses.

37. The throne of Spain and the Indies, thus vacated, was conferred by a decree of the tyrant, June 6. which was ratified by a Junta convened on the frontier, upon his brother Joseph, king of Naples, June 20. who had for his successor in that kingdom Joachim Murat, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, formerly duke of Berg. A constitution similar to the French, religious liberty excepted, was

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proffered to the Junta, and accepted; the Junta was immediately dissolved, and the new king sent to Madrid, to take possession of the throne, thus gained by robbery.

The grand duke of Berg was appointed king of the two Sicilies, July 15, 1808; the vacated duchy was granted to the son (four years old,) of the king of Holland, with the injunction, officially inculcated, "that his first duty was towards the emperor, his second towards France, his third towards his future subjects." Till his majority, the grand duchy, divided into four departments, remained under French administration.

38. The Spanish usurpation, by enlarging the dominion of the family, seemed to be an additional step towards universal dominion. Experience, however, has proved that—judged by this standard—it was a political fault. It was unnecessary, since Napoleon already ruled there. It was done without a knowledge of the country and the nation; an universal insurrection having ensued, it opened the abyss, which devoured alike the French armies and the French finances; and it gave England a theatre for war. But it taught Europe, that the people are more powerful than mercenary armies; and it was moreover destined—to give freedom to another quarter of the globe.

The insurrection first broke out in Aranjuez, May 2, 1808. In the same month it had spread over almost all Spain; Juntas were erected in each province; and particularly at Seville. The first great result was the capitulation of general Dupont in Andalusia, extorted by Castanos, July 20;

and the successful defence of Saragossa by Palafox, Aug. 15. On Aug. 1. Joseph had to leave Madrid.—Meanwhile the insurrection spread through Portugal; and a league was made with Spain, June 14, England having declared the war with the Spanish nation to be at an end, June 4, and having sent an auxiliary body to Portugal; where Junot, after the battle at Vimeira, Aug. 21, was compelled to make a honourable capitulation at Lisbon.—In Spain many battles were fought, great and small; but the victories of the French gave them nothing more than the ground on which they stood. But new, reinvigorated armies were sent out, composed of French troops and the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussia having been evacuated.—A central Junta was, meanwhile, established in Aranjuez, Sept. 25; the higher authority of which the provincial Juntas would not, however, acknowledge, as they regarded it only as a subordinate deputation from their own number.

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39. The resolution of Napoleon to proceed to Spain in person rendered some precautions in Europe necessary, in order, as Austria had already assumed a doubtful attitude, to protect his rear, and, above all, to secure Russia. A personal meeting seemed the most judicious expedient, as it had been seen at Tilsit how much might be effected by such a measure. The congress at Erfurt had apparently no other object, since the renewed proffer of peace to England was evidently only for ostentation. It has not been authentically divulged, what other agreements were made; what may have been concerted with respect to Sweden, and even with respect to the Porte, in order that Napoleon might have his hands disencumbered in Spain;

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but that the *integrity* of the Porte, so often brought forward, was, in the mouth of the usurper, nothing more than a figure of speech, could scarcely be doubted after the expedition to Egypt.

At the congress of Erfurt, Oct. 1808, besides the two emperors, the four kings of the Confederation of the Rhine appeared in person, together with a great number of princes; others sent ambassadors. The two emperors extended an invitation to peace to England by a joint letter, Oct 8. It was immediately declined, because it was refused to admit the Spanish nation to a share in the deliberations.—Moldavia and Walachia were given up (according to French accounts) to Russia, in consideration of its recognising the occupation of Spain; Turkish provinces were probably assigned to Austria, but not accepted.—These transactions were followed by the campaign of the emperor in Spain, Nov. and Dec. Several Spanish corps were defeated, which could not maintain their ground in a regular battle. The English army retreated under sir John Moore to Corunna. This bold general fell in the conflict before the city, Jan. 16, 1809, soon, however, to give place to a greater. The British army embarked, but a formal alliance was concluded with the Spanish nation, Jan. 14, on condition of mutual assistance, and none other but a common peace. Ferdinand VII., or whoever should be recognised by the Spanish nation as their king, was to be recognised by England.

40. The congress of Erfurt and the negotiations begun with the ambassadors of Austria seemed indeed to restore the amicable relations between that country and France.—It was even permitted to the princes of the Confederation to withhold their preparations in behalf of their protector;—but the causes of the distrust lay

too deep, and the circumstances of the times required too oppressive demands to suffer the peace to exist. After the experience already acquired at the peace of Presburg, was Austria quietly to look forward to a fate like that sustained by Prussia at the treaty of Tilsit? And could it meet with any other if Spain should be subjected? The effects of the example given in Spain were already visible; the princes felt that their strength lay in their people; and by the erection of the militia in Austria—undervalued and even ridiculed by the emperor himself—the first great impulse was given, which was at a future period to hurl him from his throne. Not in the single wrongs only, enumerated by Austria in its manifesto, but in the general situation of Europe, lay the cause of a fourth war, which it began against the usurper. Apart from its issue, Austria retains the glory of having the most perseveringly persisted in the conflict for liberty on the continent; as it was eventually to decide that conflict by its accession.

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As early as June, 1808, military preparations were made in Austria, and a general militia was established; which make it probable that war was already resolved on.—Napoleon made repeated demands that the people should be disarmed; for the states were to stand defenceless. Fruitless proposals of a mutual guarantee were made to Russia, March 27. The war immediately broke out, and was formally declared against France, April 15.

41. Though this was altogether an aggressive

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war on the part of Austria—very inconvenient just then to the emperor—it was a rightful aggressive war for breaking the chains that she endured, and avoiding others yet more severe. This was felt by the nations; and though the summons of Austria to the Germans was answered by action only in the faithful Tyrol, yet in other places were seen the convulsions of liberty, striking the oppressor with terror. The dreaded image of the *Tugendbund* had more effect than the *Tugendbund* itself could have had, had it appeared in public. And if the flames that Schill and Doernberg attempted to kindle were again extinguished, they showed what a fire was still smouldering under the ashes.

April, 1809.

The Tyrolese commenced an insurrection under Hofer, Speckbacher, etc. aided by the Austrians under Chasteler, etc. —A bloody conflict was sustained with the Bavarians and French, April and May, with decided success till the departure of the Austrians, May 19, 1809. The insurrection was revived, and, having spread to Vorarlberg and Salzburg, was kept up under the most furious battles with varying success till the end of Nov. The final issue depended necessarily on the event of the contest waged on the principal theatre. But it was seen in a German country what a popular war is; and the execution of Hofer and others, after an amnesty had been proclaimed, April 5, 1810, at Mantua, gave freedom its martyrs.

Der Krieg gegen die Tyroler Landleute im Jahr 1809, von J. L. S. BARTHOLDY. 1814. We might believe ourselves transported to an earlier age!

42. Judicious as were the regulations of Austria, and great as was the enthusiasm of the na-

tion and its armies, it was left to itself alone. No connection with England, cut off as she was, was possible; (and no benefit accrued to Austria from England's partial undertakings;) Prussia lay prostrate; in Russia, its old ally, it could now behold only an enemy; its Polish provinces bordered, not without danger, on the duchy of Warsaw; and instead of the German empire, which it once managed, its most dangerous foe stood on its boundaries in the Confederation of the Rhine. And it was on the assistance of this confederacy that Buonaparte calculated, having left the greater part of his own forces in Spain. Thus Germany saw—for the last time it is to be hoped—the mournful spectacle of its sons lacerating each other.

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The main Austrian army entered Bavaria under the archduke Charles, while another under the archduke John penetrated into Italy and Tyrol, and a smaller one advanced to Warsaw under the archduke Ferdinand, April 10, 1809. Their antagonists, besides some French corps, were principally Bavarians, Wirtembergers, Saxons, and Poles. The Germans, however, were all under French generals. After several great battles, at Landshut and Abensburg, April 19, 20, the battle of Eckmuhl was fought, April 22, upon which archduke Charles retired to Bohemia over the Danube by way of Ratisbon, in order to confront his enemy once more at Vienna. Napoleon passed forward, therefore, through Austria by way of Linz and Ebersberg towards Vienna under several battles. Vienna was a second time taken, May 12, and the Hungarians were, but in vain, exhorted to insurrection. In consequence, the archduke John retired from Tyrol and Italy, after the successful battle at Sacile, to Hungary, April 12; and

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was followed to the Raab by the viceroy, who formed a junction with the main army of Napoleon at Bruck, May 27.—The archduke Ferdinand withdrew from Warsaw, and Gallicia was occupied in May by the Poles under Poniatowsky; who were tardily joined by the Russians.

43. The theatre of the war was thus transferred to the gates of the capital; and nothing but the Danube separated the two armies. The day at Aspern proved, for the first time, that even he who was deemed invincible might be conquered; but the victory was not improved as had been expected. Time was thus gained for new preparations, and after the second passage the battle at Wagram was fought, which resulted in the retreat of the Austrians, and shortly in a truce which led to a peace.

On the first passage of the Danube the great battle was fought at Aspern and Esslingen on the Marchfeld, May 21, 22, 1809. Repulsed and (after the destruction of the bridges) cooped up in the island of Lobau, Napoleon was allowed time to escape and recover. He crossed the river a second time, and the deadly battle of Wagram was fought for two days, July 5, 6. The Austrians retreated to Znaim, where they concluded a truce, July 12; after which the gallant duke William of Brunswick-Oels, refusing to have any part in it, and mindful of the honour of the house of the Guelphs, accomplished with his band of volunteers his chivalrous journey from Saxony to England, by way of Oldenburg, July 25,—Aug. 14.—Meanwhile England undertook an expedition, badly planned and worse executed, against the island of Walcheren, July—Sept. intending to destroy the newly-built navy at Antwerp. On the other hand Martinique was conquered, Feb. 25, and a fruitless attack was made on the isle of Bour-

bon, Sept. 21. But no energetic diversions were made in the north of Germany, where there were no ships and colonies to conquer.

44. The truce of Znaim was not followed by such a speedy pacification as is usual; whether it was because Austria would not so easily comply with the conditions exacted, or because she expected Russia's participation, or whether, in fine, because the emperor wished first to have time to levy the immense contributions imposed on the Austrian provinces; since no such treatment as was used in the case of Prussia would be possible here after the peace. After the lapse of three months, and the removal of the deliberations from Hungary to Schoenbrun, together with a change of negotiators, the peace of Vienna was concluded, purchased by conditions less honourable, apparently, than might have been expected after such a struggle.

Conditions of the peace of Vienna or Schoenbrun, Oct. 10, 1809: *a.* Austria ceded to the disposition of Napoleon, in favour of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Salzburg with Berchtolsgaden, the Innviertel, and half of the Hausruckviertel, (granted to Bavaria.) *b.* Austria ceded to Napoleon the Illyrian provinces, as they were afterwards called (the circle of Villach of Carinthia, all Crain, the county of Goertz, the territory of Trieste and Montefalcone, half Croatia, with the Hungarian Littorale and Fiume.) *c.* To the king of Saxony, as duke of Warsaw, all West Gallicia; and to Russia—in recompense of its aid—a district of four hundred thousand inhabitants in East Gallicia. *d.* Amnesty for the Tyrolese and Vorarlbergians. *e.* Austria promised an unconditional accession to the continental system, and to break

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off all its relations with England. *f.* Austria renounced the dignity of grand master of the Teutonic Order (afterwards declared to be abolished by Napoleon.) *g.* Austria acknowledged the changes that should be made in Portugal, Spain, and Italy. *h.* The allied states of France were included in the peace, and Napoleon guaranteed to Austria the rest of its possessions. The war with Russia ceased of itself.

The negotiators of the peace of Vienna were: the duke of Champagny and prince John Lichtenstein, for whom prince Metternich was substituted.

45. The peace of Vienna robbed the Austrian monarchy again of more than three millions and a half of its inhabitants. Yet it found a recompense for this loss in the faithful attachment of its subjects; and what was lost like Tyrol could scarcely be called a loss. But nevertheless it appeared almost certain that after another pause another storm only would be wanting to dissolve it into several states. Did not the exhortation to Hungary, the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, and the aggrandisement of the duchy of Warsaw by half of Gallicia, (which made Russia itself begin to fear,) perfectly justify this view, if policy, judging by the past, might dare to throw a glance into the future? Wholly cut off from the sea, deprived of its bulwarks the Alps, and with open boundaries politically surrounded by armed states on the south, west, and north, and with distracted finances, no hope seemed left to Austria, except that policy is so often mistaken (because physical power alone can be calculated) where it believes

itself to have judged most correctly; and after all, every thing in the world has its measure and limit. That a future catastrophe for the Turkish empire lay in the background of the peace of Vienna appeared hardly doubtful; but reflecting minds were more and more convinced that the path to better things lay only through great calamity.

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The erection of the Illyrian provinces, to which Dalmatia, ceded in the peace of Presburg, and united with the kingdom of Italy, (see p. 267,) was added, together with Ragusa, which had been occupied, May 27, 1806, and Cattaro, and the cession of the Ionian islands by Russia to France, Aug. 9, 1807, of which England was able to conquer only the smaller and unfortified one, Corfu, made France the immediate neighbour of the Turkish empire, as well as Servia, now in a state of revolt, as of Greece.

46. The moment of the contest with Austria, to which the eyes of all were turned, appeared to the emperor to be the most favourable moment for striking a blow, from which, although it had been a long time concerted, he had hitherto been restrained by a respect for what was held sacred. There was something revolting in driving the head of the church from his throne, however much the world was accustomed to the robbery of the church. But too many lofty ideas were associated with the name of Rome, for the empire of Europe to be complete without the dominion of Rome, even if the way thither lay through crimes. Hence, after many acts of

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violence, the decree went forth from Vienna, commanding the yet remaining states of the church to be incorporated into the French empire.

The collisions of the temporal with the spiritual authority were inevitable in the system of Napoleon, who wished the latter to have no influence on civil affairs. These collisions had begun soon after the conclusion of the Concordat (see p. 257) on account of the conditions arbitrarily annexed to it. From that time incessant demands and contentions ensued, which soon became of a political nature.—The city of Rome was occupied by a military force under Gen. Miollis, Feb. 2, 1808. The demand of an alliance, offensive and defensive, (principally against England, by shutting the ports,) was firmly resisted by Pius VII. as inconsistent with the obligations of the head of the church. Ancona, Urbino, and Macerata were immediately occupied and annexed to the kingdom of Italy, April 2. During the whole of the next year, unparalleled acts of violence were perpetrated. The cardinals and papal ministers were removed and incarcerated, his troops disarmed; even the recesses of his palace no longer afforded an asylum. Finally, the decree of the annexation of the states of the church and the city of Rome was promulgated, May 17, 1809, and executed, June 9, by virtue of his rights as successor of Charles the Great!

47. The defenceless could not prevent the rapine of the powerful. But Buonaparte did not seize his prey with entire impunity. In the full dignity of his office, without deviating a tittle from his duty, Pius VII. had withstood every encroachment on his rights as a prince and pope. When the last blow of the usurper fell, he also had recourse to his last weapons; and Napoleon bore away his spoils, loaded with the maledic-

tions of the church. Pius VII. was arrested, forcibly removed and imprisoned. All this, power could do; but it could not restore the harmony between church and state, and how far might this variance lead, if the church should continue united with the state? As the continental system of Napoleon was repugnant with nature, so his ecclesiastical system was at war with conscience. And was the latter easier to subdue than the former?

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By the papal bull to Napoleon I. of June 11, 1809, published, nowithstanding every precaution, on the 12th, "Napoleon I. emperor of the French, and all his coadjutors in the violences perpetrated in Rome and the states of the church, since Feb. 2, 1808, are declared excommunicated, with all who shall oppose the publicity of this bull."—From that time the Quirinal palace was watched, and finally, about midnight, July 5, the department of the pope was entered by gens d'armes under their captain Radet; the pope was arrested, and immediately transported, in company with cardinal Pacca, at first over Mont Cenis to Grenoble, July 21, and from thence by way of Nice to Savona, Aug. 9, where Pius VII. refusing all compliance with the demands, and receiving only the daily prison allowance, lived three years, in part on alms; till in June, 1812, he was dragged as a prisoner to Fontainbleau. He, who bent all, was unable to bend this aged prelate; for the church also was to have its martyr; and who was more worthy of this than its head.

A collection of the most important documents from the papal court, (perhaps the most moving of those eventful times,) from Feb. 1808 to June 1809, with the bull of excommunication and its publication, may be found in SCHOELL, *Recueil, etc.* vol. i. p. 123—255.

Storia di Pontificato di Pio Papa VII. fino al faustissimo di lui ritorno alla S. Sede, seguito in giorno 24. Maggio, 1814.

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Roma, 1815, 2 vols. Drawn and compiled from public papers and documents. The two vols. however only go to Sept. 1806.

48. But in the north of Europe, great revolutions were produced by the peace of Tilsit, and the political convulsion was to extend even to the furthest boundaries of Lapland. It was occasioned by the obstinate firmness of Gustavus IV. He had remained in a state of war with France, (see p. 283,) and his close connection with England, occasioned not only a war with Russia and Denmark, but was to cost him and his house the throne, and deprive his kingdom of Finland; for Russia believed herself bound, not to let such an opportunity pass unimproved. Strange! The only one, that was able, and ought to have maintained a dignified neutrality —would not.

A subsidiary treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, Feb. 8, 1808; on the other hand, Russia demanded the fulfilment of the conditions of the armed neutrality (which had long ago ceased).—Russia issued a declaration, Feb. 22, and at the same time commenced hostilities; the imperial ambassador was unwisely arrested in Stockholm.—The Russians invaded Finland, with the declaration that it was incorporated with Russia, and the commander promulgated an address calling on "their good neighbours and the brave Fins to be quiet, and (for they had not gone to school to France in vain) to desert the cause of their king."—At this time, Denmark declared war against Sweden, in consequence of the alliance of the first-mentioned power with France (see p. 285,) while a French-Spanish corps-d'armée under Bernadotte (from whom however the Spanish escaped to Spain under Romana, see p. 290,) advanced to Denmark, without however crossing to

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Sweden, though Swedish troops attacked Norway, but ineffectually, 1808, the cession of which country was even then in agitation. The British auxiliary corps under general Moore had to return to Gottenburg without disembarking, (July,) because the two parties could come to no agreement respecting the use to be made of them.—Thus Gustavus IV. remained wholly abandoned.—Meanwhile the Russians advanced into Swedish Finland in the summer of 1808, having fought many single engagements on land and sea, with various success; but having penetrated in the autumn into Northern Finland, a truce was made, Nov. 19, by which the province of Uleaburg was relinquished to the Russians.—But after the expiration of the truce, the Russian army crossed the frozen Bothnian gulf, from Wasa to Umea, under general Barclay de Tolly (an unheard-of feat!) and Torneo was at the same time occupied, March 1809, and the isle of Aland taken. Thus threatened on all sides as far as the capital, and on the brink of destruction, a part of the army broke out into insurrection; after the revolution of March 13, 1809, the king was arrested by Klingspor and Adlercreutz; he abdicated at Gripsholm, March 29; and the deposed monarch with his family was expelled from the kingdom. Necessity indeed enjoins, that the pilot, who is steering directly on the rocks, should be removed from the helm; but was there no hereditary right in Sweden? The government was taken possession of by the king's uncle, Charles XIII., Christian Augustus, prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, being adopted and appointed his eventual successor. Negotiations were opened with Russia, and, by the peace at Fredericksham, Sept. 17, 1809: *a.* Sweden ceded to Russia all the principality of Finland to the river Torneo, together with the isle of Aland. *b.* It promised to adhere to the continental system. *c.* It retained, however, certain privileges with respect to the trade with Finland; especially the free export of grain from thence to the amount of fifty-thousand *Tschetwert.* *d.* Russia promised its mediation towards obtaining peace with France and Denmark. Sweden thus lost more than a third of its territory and population, while Russia

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was rendered impregnable in the north.—In consequence of the mediation, peace was concluded with Denmark at Jonköping, Dec. 10, without any conditions of importance, and with France at Paris, Jan. 6, 1810. *a.* Sweden was to join the continental system. *b.* Swedish Pomerania with the island Rugen was to be restored; but Sweden acquiesced in the endowments made there.

The negotiators of the peace at Fredericksham were, count Romanzoff and Alopeus on the side of Russia; Stedingk and Skoeldebrand on the part of Sweden.—Of that at Paris, de Champagny and d'Essen.

Memorial du Colonel Gustafson (the deposed king). à Leipsic, 1809, 8vo.

49. At the close of the year the continent was again in a state of tranquillity, with the exception of the peninsula of the Pyrenees. But what a fallacious tranquillity! The continental system, now embracing a quarter of the globe extending from the Pyrenees to the Wolga, rendered it one immense prison, in which the "great European family" was confined with the utmost rigour, and surrounded by an army of spies. And even within this spacious prison, there was any thing but freedom of traffic. The boundaries of each state, and especially of the leading state, were guarded with threefold exactness; the system of passports (for all strangers were suspected) recalled tyranny to remembrance at every step; every person coveted the good fortune to be maimed, in order perhaps to escape conscription; and no attack on productive industry was too outrageous, so that it promised to augment the ready money in France, and consequently in the

public treasury; for to this single fundamental position the whole national economy was reduced, formed as it was upon the strictest maxims of the mercantile system. Several gigantic undertakings were indeed executed in consequence of this despotism, though at the cost of the people, canals excavated through highlands, and roads constructed over the Alps; but what are these without trade? And if millions were annually expended on the embellishment of the capital, (while the exchequer appropriated to itself the income of the towns,) yet the union of all kind of resources was unable to rear a monument, which, like those of the Pharaohs and Cæsars, nay, like those of Louis XIV., might proclaim to future generations the power and taste of the monarch.

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50. By wars and pacifications, by the subversion and erection of thrones, was the system of universal sovereignty thus founded; but means of another kind were necessary to confirm it. Not all the ancient dynasties could be, or indeed were to be overthrown, for the new dynasty had not princes enough to fill all the vacant thrones. It seemed possible to supply the deficiencies by family alliances, contracted by intermarriages with the ancient houses; and a brother, a stepson, and an adopted daughter were married into the princely houses of Germany. The union of the emperor himself—after the divorce of his first wife—with the daughter of a German em-

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peror, soon blessed by the birth of a son, satisfied his boldest wishes alike for the present and for the future. Many hoped that ambition would be repressed by softer feelings, the interest of the husband and father; others feared that his empire was now consolidated by such connections beyond the possibility of being shaken, both ignorant that Germany had an emperor, who—if reduced to the choice—would not scruple to postpone the consideration of his daughter to that of his country.

Napoleon was divorced from his first wife, Josephine, by birth la Pagerie, the widow of Beauharnois, Dec. 15, 1809. He married Maria Louisa, archduchess of Austria, April 2, 1810. A son was born March 20, 1811; who was immediately appointed king of Rome.

51. Experience soon proved how vain were those hopes. The cause, however, is not to be sought altogether in the personal character of the emperor; it lay no less in the nature of the dominion of which he was the founder. His efforts to change his indirect sway into immediate dominion—of which the old Roman provincial system affords an evidence—were apparently inseparable from it; because partial thraldom is more insupportable than total servitude. The maxim of uniting the dependent countries to the leading state became more and more general. It was applied to parts of Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and, destroying his own work, to the kingdom of Holland, where his brother

himself, no longer able to endure his tyranny, abdicated the throne. A mere decree, expedited by the ever ready conservative senate, was sufficient to determine the doom of those countries; and what limits could be looked for, if not even his own brother was spared?

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The estates of the church were incorporated with France, Feb. 17, 1810; Tuscany, March 5, (nominally under the administration of Napoleon's sister Eliza;) Valais, separated from Switzerland, Dec. 10, on account of the military road over the Simplon. The Italian Tyrol, taken from Bavaria, was annexed to the kingdom of Italy, May 28, 1810; which, being joined to the Illyrian provinces, extended the immediate empire of the ruler to the boundaries of Hungary and Turkey. And what was necessary but a decree of the senate to attach the whole of these countries to France?—The incorporation of Holland had its origin in the continental system, the enforcement of which bore on no country harder than on Holland, and was no where more difficult, on account of its geographical and mercantile relations. The contest began and the threat of incorporation held out, Jan. 1810. It was then averted by the cession and immediate incorporation of Dutch Brabant, and part of Zealand, April 26.—Holland was nevertheless occupied by French troops and officers of the customs, who committed various abuses, June. Louis abdicated and fled, July 1, carrying with him the affection of his people. (About this time, Lucian, the other brother, fled to England, Aug. 10; for, though refusing every crown, he had found no refuge from the tyranny of his brother in his peaceful habitation at Tusculum.) Holland, with East Friesland, which had been previously joined with it, was incorporated with France, as "the alluvia of French rivers," by a decree of the senate, Dec. 13, 1810. The same blow reached Northern Germany. The decree of Dec. 13, united, according to a line arbitrarily drawn, half the kingdom of Westphalia, part of the grand duchy of Berg, all Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic cities

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to France, which now bordered on the Baltic. His brother was deprived, unasked, of half of his kingdom; a prince of the Confederation of the Rhine, a relation of Alexander, was deprived of his whole territory. The Hanseatic cities met with the heaviest oppression. Where freedom was the greatest, its loss was the most painful.

Documens historiques sur le gouvernement de la Hollande, par LOUIS BUONAPARTE, ex-roi de Hollande. 3 vols. 1819. The most lively sketch of the public as well as private tyranny of his own brother.

52. This dominion of the whole line of coast, from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Elbe, maintained by a reinforced army of revenue officers, might aggravate the difficulties of the interdicted trade, but could not entirely annihilate it. The great problem, whether a sole dominion were possible without the dominion of the ocean, became more and more improbable to the despot; "but this was to be obtained by a fleet of a hundred ships of the line," and the gigantic works at Antwerp seemed to render this no empty threat, if seamen could only be manufactured like ships, or drilled like soldiers. Meanwhile not a French ship of war could show itself out of harbour with impunity; the remaining island-colonies fell into the hands of the British; and all the preparations of the new sovereign of Sept. 1810. Naples did not make it practicable to cross even the narrow straits of Messina, and enforce his title as king of the Two Sicilies.

Cayenne was conquered, Jan. 4, 1809; the important Martinique, Feb. 25; Senegal, June 10; the city of St. Domingo, which the French had occupied, July 6; Gaudaloupe, Feb. 3,

1810; St. Eustace and St. Martin, Feb. 21. In the East Indies, the isle of Bourbon was conquered, July 7, and the important isle of France, Dec. 2. The taking of Amboyna and its dependencies in the Moluccas, Feb. 17, was only the prelude to the conquest of the hitherto unsubdued Batavia, and the island of Java with its dependencies, Sept. 18, 1810. The Danish islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix, were taken Dec. 21—25, 1807. And even in the remotest north, Iceland was occupied, July 1809.

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53. But the participation of the British was no longer limited to the ocean, after the peninsula of the Pyrenees presented an arena for war by land; on which the Marlborough of the nineteenth century was finally to appear. Though the contest had never been remitted in this country, it did not acquire its full extent, embracing the whole peninsula, till after the peace of Vienna, when all the forces of France stood at the disposal of the emperor. The annexing of the Spanish and Portuguese to the British army gave them mutual strength, though Spanish jealousy and want of internal concord threw obstacles in the way, from vanquishing which scarcely less glory accrued to the British hero than from vanquishing the enemy.

The supreme command of the British army in Portugal (of which the German legion, as it was called, consisting of Hanoverians, constituted a large part,) was accepted by the duke of Wellington (then sir Arthur Wellesley, third son of Colley, lord Wellesley, viscount Mornington,) April 22, 1809. A Portuguese army was formed under general Beresford, likewise subordinate to Wellington, and several Spanish corps under Guesta, etc. To these were opposed the French ge-

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generals, Soult, Ney, Victor, Mortier, Gouvion St. Cyr, Augereau, etc.; and afterwards Suchet, Massena, Marmont, Macdonald, Jourdan, etc. Among the numerous battles of the year 1809, that of Talavera, July 27, 28, stands pre-eminent; Saragossa was besieged and heroically defended, Nov. 1808—Feb. 1809 (renewing the stories of Numantia and Saguntum,) as well as Girona, June—Dec. In the year 1810, Napoleon exerted himself to the utmost; the troops of France, Italy, Poland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, inundated the peninsula. Andalusia was subdued by Victor, Mortier, etc., then followed the siege of Cadiz, (whither the central Junta had fled, being driven from the mainland,) conducted with incredible but useless efforts.—A regency was erected, consisting of five members, in lieu of the central Junta; the Cortes extraordinary were convened, and soon opened their deliberations at Cadiz, claiming the supreme power, Sept. 24, 1810. But at the same time, Wellington made a remarkable campaign in Portugal, where Massena, being conquered without coming to an engagement, March 1811, forfeited all his military reputation. Tarragona was besieged and heroically defended in 1811, and Valencia in 1812, against Suchet.—Wellington pressed forward again into Spain, 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo was conquered, Jan. 9; Badajoz, April 6. He gained the battle of Salamanca, July. 22, and took the city. In consequence, the siege of Cadiz was raised, the south of Spain evacuated, and Joseph fled from the capital, which Wellington entered Aug. 12. In the mean while, Wellington was appointed by the Cortes commander-in-chief of all the Spanish armies, Sept. 25. Though Madrid was again evacuated and occupied by the French (Nov.) in the same year, after raising the siege of Burgos and the retreat over the Douro, (Oct.,) yet the capture of the principal town was not much more decisive than the capture of a village. For nothing more was gained than the mere ground on which they stood.

54. While the war on the peninsula employed the best forces of the French empire, the dark spirit of its monarch was meditating a new,

greater, and more formidable war. "Two suns cannot exist in the firmament," was the reply of the ancient conqueror of the world, when a division of dominion and empire was proposed to him. Would Napoleon have given a different answer, had he been equally frank? Sole dominion cannot be divided between two. The project of a war with Russia proceeded, therefore, from the project of an universal monarchy; beyond this empire there was nothing more to fear and conquer; and, in his estimation, who rated men as nothing, in the worst case there was but little to lose. It is only strange, therefore, that he was so blinded, as to select this moment, while the contest in Spain was still undecided, were not precipitation the characteristic of the period. That the Porte, Asia, and perhaps India itself, stood in the background, is rendered extremely probable by the character of the man and his various preliminary measures tending thereto, whatever objections a considerate policy may make. But the execution was accelerated by the continental system, which necessarily put him at variance with Russia, feeling as she did its consequences most severely in her financial concerns, as all her exports were interrupted. By her withdrawing from the system, a coldness arose, which soon openly showed itself in words and actions; and where friendship demands submission, coldness leads to open feuds.

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The new tariff, established by the Ukase of Dec. 31, 1810,

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prohibiting or clogging the importation of French products, and permitting that of colonial products under neutral flags, contained the tacit avowal that Russia renounced the continental system.—The seizure of Oldenburg about this time (see p. 309) manifested that Napoleon did not fear to affront Russia; while the extension of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the continued occupation of Dantzic, were equally striking proofs that he was not afraid to disquiet her. Negotiations, of which little was known, were carried on in the course of the year 1811, till the elusive answers returned to the proposals of prince Kurakin, (April 1812,) compelled him to leave Paris. From this time war could not seem doubtful, though the mask was not yet wholly thrown off.

55. It was apparently certain that the approaching conflict must decide the destiny of Europe, comprehending as it did this whole quarter of the globe, and not, as in Spain, only the peninsula of the Pyrenees. What was the general situation of Europe at its commencement; what the relations of the single states? What were the relations of the Germans, the northern powers, and of the Porte? The common resource of the weak, neutrality, could be of no benefit here, where the weak were obliged to feel that in such a conflict of the powerful, neutrality was certain ruin.

56. Previous policy had certainly prepared much for an attack on Russia. The road to its frontiers lay open; the chain of alliances and of garrisoned fortresses reached to them; useful allies were found on the boundaries of Russia in the Poles; and Russia itself, by renewing the contest with the Porte, had become involved in

a war which would have taken off a considerable proportion of its forces, had it not been able to liberate itself at the right time, and yet with aggrandisement; while France was thus deprived of co-operation from a quarter where it might have been highly injurious to Russia at such a moment.

The renewal of the war with the Porte soon after the congress of Erfurt, took place in consequence of the agreements made there with respect to Moldavia and Walachia, (see p. 294). Hostilities were commenced after the short deliberations at Jassy had been dissolved, April 1809, and those provinces were occupied. The Russians passed the Danube in August. But the chain of Hæmus presented a stronger line of defence than the river with its fortresses. The grand vizier was strongly encamped at Chiumla in Bulgaria: the campaign of 1810 was a bloody one; while the Servians, as the allies of the Russians, rekindled their insurrection in June. Silistria was conquered, June 23. The grand vizier was attacked without avail, July 5, 6. An attack was made on the fortified place of Routschouk with one half of the army, while the grand vizier routed the other half, Aug. 4. But he was conquered by the Russians when hastening to the relief of Routschouk, Sept. 19.—In the following year, 1811, the Russians retreated across the Danube under Kutusoff, pursued by the Turks, but to their destruction. After one half of their army had passed the left bank of the Danube, Sept. 20, the remainder was surprised and annihilated by the Russians, Oct. 26, the grand vizier himself escaping with difficulty. Negotiations were soon commenced at Bucharest, and the demands of Russia being moderate, peace was concluded, May 28, 1812, France being unable to prevent it. Conditions: *a.* The Pruth to its confluence with the Danube, and this latter river to its mouth, should constitute the boundary of the two empires. Russia remained therefore in possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia,

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the other and greater portion, together with Walachia, was restored to the Porte.) *b.* A full amnesty was granted to the insurgent Servians; the sovereignty of the Porte over them was acknowledged, under the assurance of its generosity.

The plenipotentiaries at Bucharest were, Italinsky and Gatib Effendi, etc.

57. The situation of Austria in the impending contest was less dangerous, because it lay beyond the sphere of its influence, and could determine for itself what auxiliary force it would furnish, because at such an important juncture it must necessarily be spared. So much the more desperate was the situation of Prussia. The grand route of the war lay through the midst of its provinces. Its utter ruin seemed inevitable; and at no time could the existence of the monarchy (for it was dangerous to leave an uncertian friend in the rear) be considered more doubtful. Neutrality and resistance were certain ruin; what means of salvation were left but an alliance? And even the permission to contract an alliance was not obtained without difficulty. The moments of the deepest debasement must precede those of the proudest exaltation! The obligations of all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine towards their protector admitted of no doubt; they had no option. Switzerland herself had to supply her mediator with auxiliaries; and the assistance of the states of Italy (where only the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, with Lucca, still remained) and of the Illyrian provinces was expected of course.

It was hazardous for any one to remain behind with his contingents!

The alliance with Austria was concluded at Paris, March 14, 1812. *a.* The alliance was defensive, viz. against Russia. *b.* The force Austria was to furnish amounted to thirty thousand men. *c.* France guaranteed to Austria at all events, the possession of Gallicia, possibly in consideration of the exchange of the Illyrian provinces.—Conditions of the alliance with Prussia, Feb. 24, 1812. *a.* It was an alliance offensive and defensive against Russia; (clearly so expressed in the secret articles). *b.* Prussia was to furnish an auxiliary force of twenty thousand men. And in another compact, the immense supplies for the French army were fixed. How much nations and countries can endure before they entirely sink!

58. The political relations of the two northern powers were very different. Denmark, after peace had been restored with Sweden, (p. 305,) though allied with France, (p. 282,) and in constant war with England, was enabled, by its geographical situation, to maintain a neutrality in the contest with Russia. Sweden on the contrary, (where, after the sudden death of the heir to the throne, a French prince, distinguished both as a general and a man—previously hated by the emperor, but now doubly so because it was done independently of him—was appointed successor by the states, and was adopted by the king,) took advantage of this crisis with great adroitness, not only to emancipate itself from French dependence, but also—without engaging at present actively in the war—to open a pros-

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pect to Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland.

Marshal Bernadotte, (Charles John,) prince of Ponte Corvo, was chosen successor to the throne of Sweden by the states, Aug. 21, 1810. He arrived there Oct. 20. At that time, after many censures for the non-enforcement of the continental system, war was declared against England, Nov. 17, on the peremptory demand of Napoleon. England, however, took no notice of it. But after repeated new demands and proposals had been declined, 1811, Swedish Pomerania and Rugen were occupied, Jan. 1812, and Sweden treated in reality like an enemy. Sweden immediately made advances to Russia, and concluded a treaty at Petersburg, April 8. *a.* Russia promised to Sweden the union of Norway, in consideration of a compensation to Denmark, whether by negotiations or an auxiliary force of thirty-five thousand men, and guaranteed the ratification of this promise at the peace. *b.* Sweden promised in that case a diversion in the north of Germany, in connection with a Russian detachment. This treaty was confirmed by the meeting of the prince royal with the emperor Alexander at Abo, (Aug.) Peace was restored between Sweden and England by the treaty at Oerebro, July 12, according to the ancient relations; and Swedish ports were again opened to British vessels.

The plenipotentiaries at Oerebro were: from England, Edw. Thornton; from Sweden, Engstroem and Wetterstedt.

Memorials of Charles John, king of Sweden and Norway; illustrative of his character, of his relations with the emperor Napoleon, and of the present state of his kingdom, by W. GEORGE MEREDITH. London, 1829, 8vo.

59. But notwithstanding all these circumstances, Russia stood alone in opposition to its foes.—Though the peace with England was restored, and even an alliance concluded with Spain, no other aid could be expected from these

quarters but an energetic diversion on the peninsula. But in this very circumstance consists the glorious triumph of Russia; having sustained the great conflict alone—even without a subsidy from England!

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Peace was concluded with England at Oerebro, July 18, 1812. The plenipotentiaries were, Suchtelen and Edw. Thornton. The plenipotentiaries of the treaty with Spain, (the Spanish regency at Cadiz in the name of Ferdinand VII.) at Weliky Luky, July 20, 1812, were Bermudez and Romanzoff. In both, mutual amity and assistance, though not exactly defined, were stipulated, including an acknowledgement of the authority of the Cortes.

60. In this way a storm of nations arose (about twenty were united under the standard of the conqueror) unparalleled in history since the expeditions of Xerxes and Attila. What—asks reflecting policy—could have been its ultimate object? The destruction of the Russian monarchy could hardly have been anticipated by the most sanguine; "to exclude it from Europe and send it back to Asia" had been ever since the time of Peter I. a chimerical idea. And had a speedy peace, perfecting the work of Tilsit, produced the entire restoration of Poland,—could it have been more than a truce? But in Poland itself, on which the plan for the future in reality depended, half measures, only, were most inconsistently adopted, out of forbearance to Austria. The Poles could never effect a public proclamation of the complete restoration of their kingdom.

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More than half a million of soldiers, according to the most credible accounts, constituting the flower of the nations of Europe; French, Italians, Neapolitans, Swiss, Dutch, Austrians, Hungarians, Bavarians, the inhabitants of Wirtemberg, of Baden, Saxons, Westphalians, besides the contingents of the smaller princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussians, Poles, Illyrians, and even the remains of the Portuguese and Mameluke corps, were torn from their homes, and driven into the face of death. But the Austrians and Prussians formed separate armies, the former on the extreme right wing in Volhynia, the latter on the left wing in Courland. Nothing but a Demaratus was wanting, though the new Xerxes would neither have requested, nor indeed have listened to, his counsels.—Not a less number of nations might have been mustered in opposition by Russia herself, if she had only had time to summon them from the mountains and deserts of Asia. All her troops, divided into three armies, by no means equalled in number, those of the enemy.

61. The campaign was opened by the passage of the Niemen; and by mutual declarations of war. The war was to have been speedily terminated by penetrating into the heart of Russia as far as the ancient capital of the empire; but the constant retreat of the Russians, without risking a great battle, and the declaration of Alexander in his manifesto, "that he would never make peace, as long as the enemy remained within his empire," must have very much weakened this expectation. Fire and rapine, by friends and foes, marked the course of the invading army, and seemed to render return impossible. The march to Smolensk, were both wings and magazines were still protected by the flanks, was performed agreeably to the rules of tactics;

but the rapid advance from Smolensk to the capital with uncovered wings, has been blamed by tacticians, independently of the final issue, as an excess of temerity.

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On the same day that the French crossed the Niemen, the Russian manifesto was issued. Wilna was occupied June 28. The French advanced with many skirmishes by way of Witepsk to Smolensk, where the two Russian armies formed a junction, Aug. 6, while the Prussian auxiliaries besieged Riga, and the Austrian were manœuvering in Volhynia.—Smolensk was stormed and destroyed, Aug. 18, after which Kutusoff was vested with the chief command. The Russians retreated to Borodino on the Moskwa. A great battle was fought at Borodino and Mosaisk, Sept. 7. The Russians retreated, but not in flight, through Moscow, to which the road now stood open. The solitary capital was entered, Sept. 14, 15. In the Kremlin, the ancient residence of the czars, the conqueror took up his head quarters, the limit of his expedition and the tomb of his greatness.

62. Here the fatigued and debilitated army hoped to find repose and refreshment; when suddenly the flames burst out in a hundred places, and the vast capital resembled an ocean of fire. It fell a victim to the empire;—for such a drama demanded such a catastrophe; but in its pillars of fire, the first dawn of freedom shone over shackled Europe in the furthest east. Instead of a Capua, the army suddenly stood in a waste. "The campaign may now end," was the proposal of Napoleon; "the campaign is now beginning," was the reply of Kutusoff. A speedy retreat, before the beginning of the winter's cold, might perhaps have

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saved the army, but the pride of the conqueror disdained this measure, till it was too late.

The grand conflagration of Moscow (four-fifths of the city) raged Sept. 16—19, having been prepared by Rostopschin the governor, at Kutusoff's order, who was possessed of unlimited authority. The general pillage proceeded among heaps of ashes and ruin. Napoleon proposed a truce, and offered to retreat to Wiasma, Oct. 5. The answer of the Russians was purposely delayed, but it was a refusal—they had begun to know themselves after the peace of Tilsit.

63. No alternative but a retreat remained! A retreat over upwards of seven hundred miles, with an army already enfeebled, encompassed, defeated again and again by enemies increasing every day, through deserts of his own creation, and through smoking ruins, without shelter and without magazines, and soon overtaken by avenging destiny; when the cold, which could be endured neither by man nor beast, killed both by thousands. History refuses to delineate scenes, which imagination herself can scarcely conceive. Suffice it to say, that of the hundreds of thousands, who had crossed the Niemen with him, scarcely as many thousands returned, and of these, how few were capable of bearing arms? The army of the tyrant, half dead, half captive, existed no longer; he himself, in a miserable sledge, and unknown, escaped death if not shame, to carry the first news of his defeat to his capital. "That there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous," was his only consolation.

The French left the ruins of Moscow, (the Kremlin having been blown up,) Oct. 19, 1812, after the cavalry had been surprised the day before by Bennigsen at Tarutina. They retreated, after a short circuit, by the road to Smolensk, pursued by the main army of Kutusoff and numberless swarms of Cossacks; while on the north, Wittgenstein was hastening from the Dwina, and on the south, Tchitchagoff from Moldavia, the peace with the Porte (p. 315) not having been concluded in vain. Single corps d'armée were routed at Yaroslavez, Oct. 24, and at Wiasma, Nov. 3. The tremendous cold weather commenced Nov. 6. As there was no place of rest at Smolensk, they were defeated at Krasnoy, Nov. 17, 18. They were soon after reinforced by fresh forces under Victor and Oudinot; but after the battle at Borizoff, Nov. 25, and the passage over the Beresina at Studzianka (the most horrible of the scenes of horror) Nov. 26—28, these too were overtaken by a similar fate. From thence to Wilna, Dec. 9, the remainder of the army was wasted away in its flight, and on Dec. 4, the emperor himself, sending before him his twenty-ninth bulletin, fled from Smorghoni in his sledge to Paris, by way of Warsaw and Dresden, which had been five months before the scene of his splendour, and where he had received the homage of kings and princes.—Before the close of the year 1812, Russia was cleared of the enemy. Not a thousand men, capable of bearing arms, could the viceroy at first collect behind the Vistula; only a few reserves, the garrisons of the fortresses, and the separate armies of Prussia and Austria, the last, however, no longer belonging to Napoleon, were remaining; 240,000 bodies were buried in Russia.

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Relation circonstanciée de la campagne de Russie, par EUGÉNE LABAUME, Capitaine, etc. Paris, 1814. This delineation by an eye-witness and a Frenchman, precludes every suspicion of exaggeration in the Russian accounts. The fourth corps d'armée of 48,000 men, to which the author belonged, were at last able to take up its quarters—in one chamber!

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64. The diffusion of these accounts over Europe excited at first a vague astonishment, rather than a loud expression of joy; it was saddened however, by the lamentations of parents, wives, and widows, for hardly a village was free from losses. That great revolutions of things were impending did not pass unobserved even by the careless. A sudden eruption was prevented by the fortresses and countries which were occupied, by the relations of the rulers, and the certainty that Napoleon himself had escaped. Some powerful impulse was first needed. This was afforded by Russia; when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave the signal for the emancipation of Europe. From this time, the storm of nations, which had gathered in the west against the east, was to be turned back in an opposite direction.

The emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, Dec. 17. The Russian army passed the frontier in five bands, under the chief command of Kutusoff, accompanied by the emperor as far as Kalisch. It entered Prussia, and exhorted the nation to war. Dantzic was besieged, Jan. 1813. The Vistula was crossed, and soon after the Oder, in February. On March 4, the first Cossacks appeared in Berlin, which was occupied by Wittgenstein, March 11, the viceroy retreating with all his forces beyond the Elbe and Saale.

65. Thus opened that momentous, bloody
1813. year, in which the dominion of the one was to fall, and nations and princes were to regain their freedom. In Russia the war had become

a popular war; whether it was to be such in Germany was yet to be decided. Prussia made it so. Tearing off his ignominious chains, the king summoned the nation to arms; and it obeyed his call. Mecklenburg and Hamburg followed the example; active assistance was promised by Sweden; and if the insurrection did not become general this side the Elbe, it was only force that restrained it. On the other hand, Denmark, still in war with England and inclining to France, collected its troops in Holstein.

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The king left Berlin for Breslau, accompanied by Hardenberg, the chancellor of state, and others, Jan. 22, 1813. From this place was issued the edict of Feb. 3, for the formation of volunteer corps of Yagers; on which all the youth hastened to arms. The whole nation was then summoned, March 17, and the war was made completely national, by the regulations for the erection of the militia for defence, and for attack; the army was also addressed, of which the corps of French auxiliaries under gen. York, refusing obedience to the marshal Macdonald, Dec. 30, had joined the Russians. A well trained army of more than 100,000 men—thanks to the quiet preparations of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau—suddenly stood in being; and was afterwards reinforced by a still stronger militia. The insurrection broke out in Hamburg, where the utmost enthusiasm was displayed, upon Tettenborn's arrival, March 24, and the free constitution was restored; the same spirit prevailed in Mecklenburg, whose princes were the first to renounce allegiance to the Confederation of the Rhine, as well as in Luneberg. These movements extended as far as the Rhine.

66. New leagues were the natural consequences of this incipient revolution of things.

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The one between Prussia and Russia was the first; it was followed by the alliance between Sweden and England; and somewhat later, by the one between Prussia and England, as well as between Russia and England.

The conditions of the treaty between Russia and Prussia at Kalish, Feb. 28, 1813, were: *a.* An alliance defensive and offensive, with an agreement as to the auxiliary armies of both parties. *b.* Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to its ancient statistical relations. *c.* Invitations were proffered to Austria and England to join the league. The negotiators were Kutusoff and Hardenberg.—Conditions of the convention between England and Sweden, March 3: *a.* Sweden promised thirty thousand auxiliaries on the continent, under the command of the crown prince. *b.* England promised a million of subsidies annually. *c.* England promised at least not to oppose the union of Norway, but even to further it to the utmost, in case Denmark should refuse to join the Russian alliance. *d.* A promise was given that Guadaloupe should be ceded (this was never performed). *e.* Commercial concessions in favour of England, in Gothenburg and Stralsund. The negotiators were, Edw. Thornton and V. Wetterstedt.—The conditions of the alliance of England with Prussia at Reichenbach, June 15: *a.* Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to the old relations. (By a separate compact, however, Hildesheim remained to Hanover.) *b.* Regulations respecting subsidies.—The same conditions were contained in the contemporary treaty with Russia.

67. But a harder struggle was impending. What was the destruction of an army to him, who cared not for the loss of men, so long as there was a magazine to supply him with a new one? The first measures of the defeated em-

peror after his return, evinced that he would not, willingly, remit any part of his claims; and not one free dissentient voice was raised either in the senate or in the legislative body. The readiness, with which the desired aid was given by the nation, has been called by the appellation of magnanimity. Not without justice, had the object been the defence of its own soil; but how can the enforcement of unjust pretensions merit this name? The perversion of moral sentiment is inseparable from times of tyranny; it will not be superfluous therefore to guard against such a misapplication of the term in question.

Public contests in Europe. 1797-1804.

By a decree of the conservative senate, Jan. 10, 1813, two hundred and fifty thousand conscripts, more than Napoleon had demanded, were placed at the disposal of the emperor.—Wonderful dispensation of retributive justice! In the *Moniteur* of March 30, 1813, he himself declared, that "Even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire." On March 30, 1814, Montmartre was taken by assault, and—the empire itself was given up!

68. The first months of the year were, therefore, the period of the most earnest preparations on both sides. Germany was again destined for the field of battle; the Elbe, from its mouth to the boundaries of Bohemia, constituted the line of division between the forces of the two belligerents; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, besides Dantzic, were in the hands of the French. While Russia and Prussia combined their armies, which the mon-

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archs themselves from this time always attended in person, Sweden was impelled to active participation by British subsidies and the promise of Norway. Napoleon, however, not only demanded from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine their contingents, but found an ally in Denmark, with whom the negotiations respecting Norway had been broken off.—Painful as was the situation of the towns and places that lay between the armies; a still more cruel fate befel Hamburg, which, abandoned to the revenge of Napoleon, had to drain the cup of misery to the dregs. Saxony, however, was the principal theatre of the war; whose king could not separate his cause from that of Napoleon.

Dresden was occupied, after the retreat of marshal Davoust, by Russians and Prussians under Wittgenstein and Blucher, March 27, 1813; they then pressed on to Leipzic, while the French army assembled in Franconia, Thuringia, and on the Elbe. The war of liberation was begun in Germany by the battle of Gross Goerschen or Lutzen, May 2. The allies made a regular retreat, not a disorderly flight, over the Elbe. With a weaker force, they had withstood the stronger, in order to confront him again in Lusatia. The battle of Bautzen, May 21, under Barclay de Tolly (commander-in-chief after the death of Kutusoff, April 28,) and Blucher, was attended with equal success, and followed by a similar and even glorious retreat to Silesia. An armistice was mutually offered (both parties being exhausted and expecting reinforcements) and was signed at Poischwitz, June 4 to July 26; soon afterwards prolonged till Aug. 10.—In the meanwhile negotiations were renewed with Sweden, and, conformably to its convention with England, March 3, (see p. 326,) the crown prince landed with Swedish troops in Pomerania,

May 18; at the same time a German auxiliary corps was formed under Walmoden, afterwards in British pay; but Lubeck and Hamburg were lost, being occupied by Davoust after the retreat of the Russians, May 30. It was violently transformed into a fortress; devastations, a reign of terror, and methodical pillaging ensued; and when nothing more was to be taken, the bank was at last attacked.—Fruitless negotiations were begun by England and Sweden with Denmark; (April); Denmark made advances to France; and concluded an alliance at Dresden, July 10. Denmark promised to declare war immediately against Russia, Prussia, and Sweden.

Darstellung des Feldzugs der Verbündeten gegen Napoleon im Jahr 1813 *und* 1814, in zwei Theilen, 1817.

Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren 1813 *und* 1814, von V. PLOTHO. Berlin, 1817, 3 Theile.—Both authentic histories of the war.

69. Never was a period of two months' armistice of such importance! and at the same time such a period of active negotiations and preparations. Not without reason was peace feared. What other situation could it have produced, but that unhappy intermediate state, which, after repeated experience, was dreaded more than war itself? The restriction of France to its ancient boundaries was not to be expected; a restoration of the ancient dynasty could not have been even mentioned. Very different occurrences were required, before the restoration of the political system of Europe could be thought of. But one great hope arose during the truce, and it was not deceptive; the accession of Austria. It was reserved for Austria

to give the decision, when the decisive moment arrived.

During the truce Austria (suspending its former treaty of alliance with France, see p. 317) undertook the part of mediator, which it had previously attempted, though in vain, with the single nations. A congress was agreed on to be held at Prague (the emperor Francis going to Bohemia) on July 5; but in consequence of the delay of the French plenipotentiaries it was not opened till July 28. The sentiments of Napoleon were made manifest by the retardation of the French answer till Aug. 6; and still more by the affronting tenor of the answer itself. It could not escape him, that even the allies, already secure of Austria, thought no more of peace. After a useless exchange of notes, the congress was declared to be dissolved by the allies, Aug. 11, and on the following day, Aug. 12, Austria declared war against France.

The plenipotentiaries at Prague, were: prince Metternich as mediator; von Amstett and v. Humboldt on the part of the allies; de Caulincourt and de Narbonne on the part of France.

70. The issue of the negotiations led again to new alliances. The ties with Austria as well as with Sweden and England, had to be drawn in the closest manner. A conflict was impending, where national existence was at stake; and the day of decision could not be far distant. But those ties were not only to be contracted by policy, they were consolidated by the personal friendship of the monarchs. From henceforth, alike inseparable from one another, and their armies, they shared every toil and every danger, every care and every hope, as they afterwards shared the gratitude of the nations and

the glory of the victory. The armies too were amalgamated with each other; there was no longer any Russian, Prussian, or Austrian army; all were united as one; and officers from all commanded all; the honour of the supreme command being conferred on Austria. When the highest interests were at stake, all petty passions were hushed; and if, in addition to the names of the monarchs, history consecrates also those of a Schwarzenberg, a Blucher, Barclay de Tolly, and others, it should not forget to add, that their concord made them no less formidable to the enemy than their arms. It can exhibit no similar example!

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During the armistice, Austria had already concerted, July 27, a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia (so much the more likely to be permanent, as it was the less formal,) which came into operation of itself with the declaration of war, and was afterwards concluded in a threefold form at Toplitz, on Sept. 9, 1813. *a.* Firm union, and a guarantee of their states. *b.* Mutual aid with at least sixty thousand men, and in case of necessity with more, for restoring and maintaining peace in Europe. *c.* None other but common peace or armistice. In the secret articles, as far as they have been divulged, the re-establishment of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies, as much as possible on the footing of 1805, was confirmed. The negotiators at Toplitz were: the counts Metternich, Nesselrode, and von Hardenberg.—England concluded treaties for subsidies at Reichenbach with Russia and Prussia, June 14 and 15, (see p. 326.) In addition to subsidies it gave its guarantee for paper money to the amount of five millions of pound ssterling (under the name of federative money); England also signed at Toplitz a treaty of alliance with Austria, Oct. 3, stipulating mutual aid with

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all its forces. The negotiators were: count Metternich and lord Aberdeen. For the compact with Sweden, see p. 326.

71. Thus the greater part of the east and west of Europe stood in opposition to each other; Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Great Britain, on the one side—France, Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine, (mostly forced,) and Denmark on the other; while the contest was still waged in Spain. The war became more and more a popular war; and the great exertions of both parties called forth masses of soldiers, such as Europe had never before seen in the times of standing armies.

The forces of the allies were divided into the grand (Bohemian) army, under the commander-in-chief, P. Schwarzenberg; the Silesian, under Blucher; the northern, under the crown prince of Sweden, (who had recalled from America his banished friend Moreau;) the Austrian corps in Italy, under Hiller, as well as those on the boundaries of Bavaria; the Russian and Austrian reserves in Poland and Austria, besides the corps employed in the siege of Dantzic, and of the fortresses of the Oder. The whole was estimated at 7—800,000 men; but with the Spanish, Portuguese, and British armies on the peninsula, could not have amounted to much less than a million. Though the forces of Napoleon in Germany, divided into fifteen corps, and a corps d'armée in Italy were perhaps only half as numerous, (to the 250,000 men already granted, by the decree of the senate of April 3, 180,000 men were added, after Prussia had delared war, besides 10,000 guards of honour, the flower of the more opulent families,) it was, on the other hand, more concentrated; and all the fortresses as far as the Oder, and Dantzic, were his; but Dresden was his principal head-quarters.

72. The same country which had so often possessed the dearly purchased fame of being Germany's classic ground and soil, was to be so in this instance. From the plains of Saxony (its inhabitants were German though under French arms) the decision was to come forth; but how much had to precede that moment? Of such a series of battles, preliminary to the great decisive battle, and in so brief a period of time, history can furnish no parallel. And from the failure of the attempt to surprise Dresden, it was ordained by Providence that success should ultimately spring.

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Dresden was suddenly attacked (in accordance with Moreau's plan?) with the grand army, while Napoleon was allured into Lusatia; but the attack failed on account of the delays, and his speedy return, Aug. 26, 27, 1813. It cost Moreau his life! But on the retreat to Bohemia, Vandamme, who had wished to cut him off, was defeated and taken prisoner with his corps, by Kleist, in the battle at Culm and the village of Nollen, Aug. 29, 30. And in Silesia the hero of the Germans, the old man with the spirit of a youth had begun his career of victory, in which he proceeded onwards always rapidly and yet deliberately, from Katzbach to the Seine. Blucher defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach, Aug. 26, with the almost total annihilation of his army. And in the north also, where the conquest of Berlin was to afford the most delightful revenge, fortune was no less favourable. Oudinot was defeated at Gross-Beeren by the crown prince, Aug. 23, and when the favourite plan was on the point of being executed, Ney was routed and his army dispersed in the battle at Dennewitz, Sept. 6, by Bulow and the crown prince. On the Lower Elbe also, Walmoden was victorious over Pecheux in the skirmish at the Gohrde, Sept. 16. None but an extensive

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history of the war can mention the numberless small battles that occurred every day, as the ever-increasing masses of troops pressed upon each other.

73. The allies thus drew a semicircle closer and closer round the emperor. It was vainly attempted to penetrate to Berlin; to no purpose did he himself attempt to reach Bohemia. Whenever he was desirous of giving battle, the foe avoided him; whenever he wished not to fight, he found the enemy. Even in his rear the leaders of the light troops swarmed around him; the boldest and most alert of them, with his band of Cossacks, chased the king of Westphalia from his throne, and declared his kingdom to be dissolved. It was at last impossible for the French to remain in Dresden, unless they wished to perish by starvation. Napoleon therefore evacuated it to meet his fate at Leipzic.

Cassel was taken, Sept. 30, 1813, by Czernischeff, and the kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved by proclamation, Oct. 1. Even after the short return of the king, the tottering throne could no longer stand, and it was soon wholly overthrown by the battle of Leipzic.—Napoleon started from Dresden, followed by the king of Saxony, for the country before Leipzic, where he arrived Oct. 7, and whither, after a fruitless search of the enemy, who had eluded him in detached bodies, he drew the still remaining reinforcements, Oct. 14, 15, consisting of nine corps d'armée, besides the cavalry, the whole, according to exact lists, amounting to rather more than 170,000 men. His subordinate commanders were the king of Naples, marshals Berthier, Ney, Mortier, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Angereau, Poniatowsky, and generals Bertrand, Lauriston, Reignier, and Souham, as well as the officers of

the cavalry, Latour-Mauburg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, Kellerman, and Milhaud. Dresden remained occupied by the marshal Gouvion St. Cyr.

74. The decisive battle of three days' duration on the plains of Leipzic unrivetted the fetters of Germany, and dashed to the ground the already rocking edifice of Buonaparte's universal dominion; its ruins only remained in the occupied fortresses of Hamburg, Magdeburg, etc. If the mass of combatants engaged in the field (amounting to almost half a million) makes it the first battle of modern history, it was no less so for its important consequences. A fraction only of the army reached the Rhine, after a flight similar to that from Moscow, and most of those were infected with a contagion, which swept them away by thousands.

The battle of Leipzic occupied the 16th, 18th, and 19th, of Oct. 1813. On the 16th an indecisive battle of the grand army and the cavalry was fought at Wachau; but Blucher was victorious at Moeckern. The 17th was a truce, but about evening the four armies of the allies formed a junction; the grand army having been joined by the northern army, to which the Silesian was united, after Blucher's memorable march; and the army of Russian reserves hastening up from Dresden under Bennigsen. These were disposed in a wide semicircle, 300,000 men strong. The history of wars has no second example of such a meeting. On the 18th, there was a general attack, and after nine hours of fighting the battle was decided. In the night the French retreated to the gates of Leipzic, and the Saxon corps passed through. On the 19th, Leipzic was taken by assault, the king of Saxony made prisoner, and the emperor fled with his routed army by way of Erfurt and Fulda

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to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher; he was attacked on the way at Hanau by the Bavarian-Austrian army under Wrede, Oct. 30. On Nov. 2, he brought back to Mayence some 70,000 men to fill the hospitals!

75. The victory at Leipzic made the German war in the fullest sense a popular war. The princes, and with them the nations, (according to German usage,) arose and threw off the chains of the Confederation of the Rhine. Even before the victory Bavaria gave the signal; Wirtemberg, Baden, and the rest followed. Every one that could bear arms seized them; the plough and workshops were abandoned; the lecture-rooms and counting-houses were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants; while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded. Hermann's spirit seemed awakened, and the day of suffering for Germany was the day of its renown. Long will their memory live in the history of Germany, as an example to future generations.

Bavaria seceded from the Confederation of the Rhine, and signed an alliance with Austria, at Ried, Oct. 8. It first declared war against France, Oct. 14, and united its army to the Austrian under Wrede. The army made a rapid march on the Maine, to meet the fugitive French army; and the battle of Hanau was fought, Oct. 30, 31.—Wirtemberg and Hesse Darmstadt joined the great alliance, Nov. 2, and Baden, Nov. 5. The other German princes, in the course of the same month; partly on conditions relating to the future re-

gulations of Germany. In the electorate of Hesse, in Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick, the legitimate governments were reinstated after the flight of the king of Westphalia. Bremen was liberated, Oct. 14, and Frankfort, Nov. 1. Dresden Nov. 11, Stettin Nov. 21, Zamosk Nov. 22, Modlin Nov. 25, Dantzic Nov. 30, Lubeck Dec. 5, Torgau Dec. 26, fell in the same year, and the half-destroyed Wittenberg, Jan. 23. Custrin did not yield till March 7, and Glogall, April 10, 1814. But Hamburg's heaviest sufferings now began, Davoust having retreated thither from Lanenburg; and Magdeburg, with the citadels of Wurzburg and Erfurt, was still occupied. Public contests in Europe. 1804-1821.

76. The insurrection spread also over Holland. Scarcely did the armies of the allies approach, before it broke out in Amsterdam; and the voice of the nation, mindful of its ancient glory, recalled also its ancient dynasty of princes. Instead of the former defective constitution, the foundation of a constitutional monarchy was laid. Under the name of a sovereign prince of the Netherlands, William of Orange was recognised as monarch.—Thus fell one part of the edifice of universal monarchy, because it was not built on the will of the people.

The insurrection broke out in Amsterdam, Nov. 15, 1813, and after the flight of the French authorities a board of government was erected, at whose invitation the prince of Orange returned from England, Dec. 1. In the mean while a part of the northern army advanced under Bulow, in Dec. The fortresses Breda, Hergozenbusch, etc. were taken. Before the end of the year Holland was emancipated, with the exception of some forts, and the road to Belgium laid open.

H. Bosscha, *Geschiedenis der Staaten-Omwenteling in Nederland in* 1813. Amsterdam, 1814.

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77. No less speedily did the fruits of the victory ripen with respect to Sweden. The declaration of war by Denmark (see p. 328) facilitated the execution of the plan for the conquest of Norway, which had been long prepared by treaties, (p. 318 seq). It was not effected in Norway itself but in Holstein, which the crown prince, separating from the other allies, invaded with the greater part of the northern army. A short campaign was sufficient to procure its cession, in consideration of Swedish Pomerania, from Denmark, now almost unarmed and deserted by its ally.

The crown prince, supported by Russians, etc. invaded Holstein, while Davoust was blocked up in Hamburg. After the battle at Sehestedt, against Walmoden, Dec. 10, 1813, the Danes retreated to Rensburg.—A truce was agreed upon, Dec. 15, and after some negotiations, peace was concluded at Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814. *a.* Denmark renounced the possession of all Norway to the Russian boundary. *b.* Sweden assured to Norway the possession of all its immunities and rights. *c.* Sweden ceded to Denmark Pomerania with the island of Rugen, and promised its interference for further indemnification. But the renunciation of Denmark did not imply the consent of Norway, which needed further exertions, (see below.)—Denmark made peace at the same time with England. *a.* The return of all conquests with the exception of the island of Heligoland. *b.* England also promised its interference.—Peace was concluded with Russia at Hanover, Feb. 8, 1814, and with Prussia at Paris, June 2. The old relations were restored, and interference promised for the same purpose.

78. The course of things was quite different

in Italy and Illyria. The Illyrian provinces were wholly emancipated after the retreat of the viceroy prince Eugene, and half of Lombardy, and Italian Tyrol were occupied. But though Eugene, as his relations demanded, continued faithful to his adopted father, Napoleon's brother-in-law, on the contrary, Murat of Naples, by acceding or attempting to accede to the allies, experienced, that in such revolutions an ambiguous conduct most certainly leads to ruin.

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In the Illyrian provinces, the conflict was waged between prince Eugene and Hiller (in whose place Bellegarde was afterwards substituted) with various success, in August and September of 1813. But after the secession of Bavaria, the first mentioned retreated across the Adige to the Mincio, Nov. and Dec. and several successful skirmishes occurred Feb. and March, 1814. Under the most perplexing relations, till the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, April 16, 1814, and his resignation of the command, April 17, prince Eugene suffered neither in honour nor in military reputation. He carried away with him the testimony of the respect of Italy.—Murat opened negotiations with Austria, and an alliance was signed at Naples, Jan. 11, (with England he was only able to make a truce, Feb. 3,) after which, without declaring his sentiments, he occupied Rome and Florence. While it was seen, that his sole wish was to gain time, he lost the confidence of all.

79. But in the Spanish peninsula also, the power of the French, scarcely founded and always tottering, was entirely annihilated the same year. Every step of the duke of Wellington was one of constant victory. While Germany was preparing itself during the armistice for the

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decisive contest, in Spain, on the other hand, the battle of Vittoria decided the whole question at once; and before the end of the year, the victorious army was standing on the soil of France. Napoleon himself, relinquishing all hope, concluded a treaty with Ferdinand, by which he acknowledged him as king of Spain.

The war in Spain became more and more a popular war, and was carried on not merely with regular troops, but also by bands of *guerillas*, formidable because they were omnipresent.—The French power was weakened by the recall of Soult to Germany, with many troops, Feb. 1813, who was followed by Jourdan under king Joseph, while Suchet still maintained himself in Valencia.—Wellington left Portugal with an army composed of British, Spanish, and Portuguese, and marched against Jourdan on the Ebro. In the battle at Vittoria, June 21, the French army was totally defeated and cut off with the loss of all its artillery.—The army fled to Pampeluna, and king Joseph to France.—Pampeluna was besieged by the Spanish and surrendered, Oct. 31. Meanwhile Soult was sent back with reinforcements, July 23, but was defeated on the Pyrenees, July 28, 29, while attempting to raise the siege of Pampeluna. He retreated to France behind the Bidassoa; while Saragossa was lost, July 30, and St. Sebastian Aug 30.—Suchet retreated from Valencia to Barcelona in July, after the investment and destruction of Tortona; Aug. 19. After the surrender of Pampeluna, Wellington advanced, and passed the boundary river Bidassoa, while Soult, vanquished again, Nov. 10, retired before Bayonne. In the whole peninsula, at the end of 1813, the French were masters of Barcelona alone, with the forts of Figueras and Rosas. Meanwhile a treaty with Ferdinand was signed at Valencay, Dec. 8, and himself and brothers were released from their imprisonment. The Cortes refused to give the required ratification to the treaty, "because Ferdinand had not been free, and no peace could be concluded without England."

80. While the universal sovereignty in Europe was thus overthrown in the east and west, France itself alone remained. The victorious armies followed as far as the Rhine, attended by the monarchs, and spread along the principal river of Germany from the boundaries of Switzerland to its outlet. If they needed repose, the cabinets also needed deliberation. Rarely have such victories been succeeded by such moderation. Happily for Europe the lesson was lost on Napoleon. The phantom of universal sovereignty had been too nearly realised for him to acknowledge it to have been a mere phantom.

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The allies declared at Frankfort, Dec. 1, 1813, that "They contended, not against France, but against the preponderance which Napoleon exercised without the boundaries of his empire. They offered the emperor peace, under the condition of the independence of the French empire, as well as of the other states of Europe. They wished to see France great, strong, and happy; because its power was one of the corner-stones of the social system. They allowed France a territory, greater than she had ever possessed under the kings. But they too wished to be happy and quiet. They desired a state of peace, which, by a just balance and distribution of power, should protect the nations from the misery they had experienced for twenty years. They declared that they would not lay aside their arms, till this object was attained."—Could any thing be more noble and liberal?—The Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees were offered for boundaries, as the basis of the peace, in the negotiations commenced by the French plenipotentiary St. Aignan.—His delay fortunately showed, that this was not enough for him; and the negotiations were broken off.

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81. It was therefore determined by the allies, that the issue should be decided in France itself. It appeared indeed rashness to penetrate into an unconquered country in the midst of winter, with more than thirty hostile fortresses in the rear. But the enemy was almost unprepared; the allies were strong enough to blockade all the fortresses; and while the allied armies, crossing the Rhine, pressed forward at the same time from Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, Wellington stood on the Garonne. But in vain was it attempted to move Switzerland to share in the struggle for freedom, though by its very situation necessarily an ally. When all were arming for liberty, the sons of Tell alone resolved on neutrality, and at last only permitted that which they could not prevent. It was not one of the most glorious moments of their history. The conduct of the allies, however, to them, gave the first proof that freedom was returning to the states of Europe.

The allied armies, amounting to nearly 400,000 strong, crossed the Rhine, the grand army under Schwartzenberg, Wrede, etc. across the Upper Rhine, and through Switzerland (which withdrew its corps of observation) Dec. 21—25; the Silesian army under Blucher over the Middle Rhine, Jan. 1, 1814, and the army of the Netherlands under Bulow. These were soon followed by other battalions.—Buonaparte, though 300,000 men were granted him by the senate, Nov. 15 (the legislative body, in which the bold voices of a Lainé and Rainouard, which well merit to be named by the side of the generals, were at last heard, was immediately prorogued,)

could only oppose to them single corps. The allied armies formed a junction in Champagne, Jan. 25. After the victory of Blucher at Brienne (La Rothiere) Feb. 1, the Silesian army following the course of the Marne, and the grand army that of the Seine, (extending at the same time as far as Lyons, where marshal Angereau was endeavouring to collect forces,) advanced towards Paris.

82. But the dangers of battle were not the greatest to which the allies were exposed; these were the negotiations, when, in doubt whether their aim could be attained by arms, the allies opened a congress at Chatillon. What a glorious peace would it have accomplished had it not been frustrated by the pride and duplicity of the emperor! As it was, there proceeded from it, instead of peace indeed, a stronger union of the allies, confirmed by their close quadruple alliance at Chaumont. The hope, that the royal throne would again be established by the nation, was revived; a Bourbon showed himself in the allied armies and in that of Wellington; and after the dissolution of the congress, but not till then, the conviction became more firmly rooted, that only on such an event was the restoration of Europe possible.

A congress was held at Chatillon, Feb. 3,—March 15, 1814, without, however, granting a truce. It still remained in Napoleon's power to preserve the throne and empire, had he been satisfied with ancient France. But he required that the Rhine and Alps with all the points of attack should constitute the boundaries of France; that Italy should belong to his step-son, and his brothers be indemnified. How fortunate was it that he demanded so much; and nevertheless, an in-

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tercepted letter of his minister Maret, afterwards showed that even this was only a deception.—During the congress a quadruple alliance for twenty years was signed at Chaumont, March 1, 1814, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. *a.* Every power furnished for continuing the war 150,000 men. *b.* England promised five million pounds sterling of subsidies. *c.* No separate negotiations were to be held.—Provision was thus made not for the present only but also for the future!

The plenipotentiaries at Chatillon were: Caulincourt: on the side of the allies lord Cathcart, count Rasumovsky, count Stadion, von Humboldt.—At Chaumont: lord Castlereagh (for the first time, a British secretary of state for foreign affairs appeared in person on the continent,) prince Metternich, von Hardenberg, and von Nesselrode.

83. The war was meanwhile prosecuted in France with various success. So far from decreasing, the forces of Napoleon actually increased; and it was easy for him to concentrate them in single points and to acquire the advantage. The retreat of the grand army, was already commenced, when Blucher's good sword decided at Laon for the better. From this time the capital of France was the aim, and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated the march. But a battle under its walls was necessary; and for the first time its inhabitants heard the thunder of hostile artillery. It fell, and with the victorious armies received into its bosom the victorious monarchs, and soon afterwards its legitimate king.

Upon the separation of the two armies after the battle at Brienne, (p. 343,) several skirmishes occurred along the Marne;

and Blucher achieved his memorable retreat from Beauchamp and Montmirail, Feb. 14, 1814, with his army already surrounded. The grand army advanced along the Seine to Fontainebleau, but upon the crown prince of Wirtemberg being overpowered after a heroic resistance at Montereau, Feb. 18, it retreated towards Troyes, as far as Bar-sur-Aube, Feb. 25, and even commenced fruitless negotiations for an armistice. The fate of Europe was again at stake. Blucher, meanwhile, after his retreat to Laon, was joined by the corps of the northern army, and fought the glorious battle of Laon, March 9 and 10. Upon this, he pressed forward again and joined the grand army, March 18. After the battle at Arcis-sur-Aube, March 20, Napoleon resolved to manœuvre in their rear; and by doing so left the road open to the capital. After the defeat of Marmont and Mortier, at la Fere Champenoise, March 25, they proceeded to Paris. A battle was fought before Paris; Montmartre was stormed, and the city capitulated, March 30; the allies entered March 31, while the shouts of victory resounded throughout Europe. Paris was taken one year five months and eleven days after the march from Moscow, and seven months and five days after the march from Katzbach. — Meanwhile Wellington advanced, equally victorious, against Soult, on the Garonne; Bourdeaux was occupied, March 12, where the royal standard was first planted, and Toulouse, April 10, after an unfortunate and unnecessary waste of blood (the couriers from Paris having been detained on their route.) As Lyons had been previously occupied by the allies, March 19, the armies were possessed of a line of communication from the Moskwa to the Tagus.

84. With the capital France was conquered, because in France the capital is every thing; the wise moderation of the victors, flattering to the feelings and vanity of the nation, accomplished the rest. The proclamation of the allies, "That they would treat no longer with Napoleon

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or any one of his family" (he had appointed his wife regent) was decisive, and without openly dictating, sufficiently showed the nation what was to be done. The senate, so late his obsequious slave, actually proposed the deposition of Buonaparte, and appointed a provisory government; the council of the department demanded the restoration of the royal throne in favour of Louis XVIII.

Alexander and the allies issued a declaration, March 31, 1814. Napoleon was declared deposed by the senate, April 1. It was of great importance, that this should be performed by the authorities of the empire. A provisionary government of five members was named, at the head of which was Talleyrand.—The council for the department of the Seine first demanded the restoration of the Bourbons, April 2.

85. It was of much consequence to obtain the abdication from the emperor himself. Convinced of the impossibility of reconquering the capital, to the succour of which he had come too late, and deserted every day by his army and his marshals, he resolved to do so for himself and family, after many useless attempts in favour of his son. He descended from the falling throne; after a compact with the allies, in which magnanimity, triumphing over policy, prescribed the conditions.

Napoleon rapidly marched back towards Paris, by way of Troyes, as far as Fontainebleau, March 30, 1814. After information of his deposition was received, Marmont, with his corps, deserted him, April 3. Negotiations were commenced through Ney and Macdonald, and an unconditional abdication

was executed on the part of Napoleon and his heirs, April 1. This was followed by a treaty with the allies. *a.* A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs for ever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. *b.* He received the island of Elba with full sovereignty, and a pension of two millions and a half from the revenues of France. *c.* He was allowed to maintain a body guard of four hundred men. *d.* His wife obtained, with full sovereignty and in perpetuity for her descendants, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, both retaining the imperial title. *e.* In addition, an income was granted to the Buonaparte family, and prince Eugene.—Buonaparte was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there, May 4.

86. The throne of the Bourbons was immediately erected again on the ground thus levelled. —It was not the difference of the royal from the imperial constitution, but the difference of the rulers, who were at its head, their relations, and above all, their characters and sentiments, that gave Europe a pledge for the future. Even if the territory of the kingdom had been equally restricted, what would a peace with Napoleon have been but a truce, in which the nations would never have dared to lay aside their arms?

The Comte d'Artois returned, April 12, 1814, and was appointed *lieutenant du royaume* by the king; and a convention was immediately made with the allies respecting the cessation of hostilities and the evacuation of the fortresses without the territory of ancient France (fulfilled at Mayence, May 4; Wesel, May 8; Magdeburg, May 14; Hamburg, May 25, etc.; all in the same month.)—Louis XVIII. landed at Calais, April 25, after an absence of twenty-three years from his kingdom, (spent in Italy, Germany, Russia, and latterly in England;) and made his entrance into Paris, May 4, after rejecting

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the constitution framed by the senate, but with the assurance of a free constitution.

87. To bestow peace on France and Europe was the first beneficent occupation of the king, now reinstated in his rights. It must have been easy to negotiate with a monarch, in whom the other monarchs saw an equal; particularly too as the transactions were hastened by their presence. If on the one hand, the phantom of universal monarchy was abandoned, on the other, the promise was most exactly fulfilled, that France should be left still great and powerful. The return of France to its ancient boundaries was the basis of the treaty.

By the first peace of Paris, May 30, 1814: *a.* France preserved its integrity according to the boundaries as they existed Jan. 1, 1792, with some additions on the eastern frontier and in Savoy, as well as by the confirmed possession of Avignon. *b.* France recognised the independence of the state of the Netherlands, with its future aggrandisement of all the German states, which were to be united by a federal league of Switzerland, and the Italian states. *c.* France recovered its colonies from England, including even Gaudaloupe, to which Sweden (p. 326) laid claims, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the isle of France with its dependencies. It engaged not to fortify its places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops, but what were necessary for the police. *d.* Malta was retained by England. *e.* French Guiana was restored by Portugal, according to an adjustment of boundaries. *f.* In the harbours evacuated by France, the vessels of war and naval stores were divided in such a manner that two-thirds were assigned to France. *g.* The allies magnanimously renounced all the sums, to which their governments might have claims from France for contracts, supplies, and loans of money.

h. France engaged to pay the similar demands of private persons. *i.* And promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years. Public contests in Europe. 1804-1821.

Negotiators: Talleyrand: on the part of the allies: lord Castlereagh, Rasumovsky, Metternich, and von Hardenberg.

88. The same month that restored to France her king, beheld three other princes, who had been driven from their thrones ascend them again.—Pius VII. returned to Rome, Ferdinand VII. to Madrid, and Victor Emanuel to Turin. In vain had Napoleon tried to terrify Pius VII. by threats, causing him to be dragged as a prisoner to Fontainebleau; in vain had he tried to deceive the world by a fictitious concordat. The return of the pope restored quiet to his state. It was otherwise in Spain, where, after the rejection of an almost republican constitution, drawn up by the Cortes, an outrageous contest of absolute power against freedom commenced, the results of which hardly left any hope of a favourable issue.

The imprisoned pope resided at Fontainebleau, June 19, 1812—Jan. 1813. A concordat, the principal provisions of which Pius VII. had, only as a preliminary measure, and conditionally accepted, was promulgated as already concluded, Jan. 23, 1813, (after Buonaparte's return from Moscow), against which Pius immediately protested. He was carried back to Savona, Jan. 24, and afterwards given up to the Austrians, March 31.—He returned to Rome and made a solemn entrance, May 24, 1814.—Ferdinand VII. entered Madrid, May 14; and Victor Emanuel, Turin, about the same time.

89. While the foundation of the subverted political system of Europe was thus every where

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laid afresh, it could escape no one how much was wanting to complete its entire restoration. The monarchs, united in peace as in war, resolved to do this in common at a congress in the imperial city of Germany, while they contracted, during the preparations, the bands of personal amity with the British royal family and the prince regent of England. After the storms of the times had subsided, policy united itself more closely with humanity.

The emperor Alexander and king Frederic William, accompanied by their victorious generals, Blucher, Platoff, etc. visited London, June 7—22, 1814, and were enthusiastically received by the nation.

90. Congress at Vienna. The history of the political system of Europe can present no congress—not excepting even the congress of Westphalia—where so many and so great interests, comprehending those of all Europe, were to be adjusted; for, though several times shaken, they were never so utterly overthrown as at present. What result, or at any rate what continuance of the congress could have been expected? Happily there were two beneficial circumstances. First: there already existed a general coincidence of opinion on most of the principal points. No one doubted the necessity of maintaining the French monarchy in its existing integrity, and of restoring the Austrian and Russian monarchies according to the former statistical relations (which were already decided beforehand by

means of treaties, see p. 331). The second was the presence, the characters, and the mutual friendship of the monarchs. The former accelerated, the latter facilitated every transaction. But nevertheless there could be no want of stumbling blocks. The greatest consisted in the arrangements respecting Poland and Saxony, and also in the political and territorial relations of Germany. Not without cause were fears repeatedly entertained that the deliberations would be interrupted. But yet they came to their regular close. This was furthered by an extraordinary, and an unexpected occurrence, which hushed the voice of individual interest. The man of destiny was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he wished to destroy.

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The congress of Vienna was formally opened, Nov. 1, 1814, after preliminary negotiations. It sat till May 25, 1815. (For the results see below in the last section.)

There were present in person, the emperors of Austria and Russia; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimer, of Brunswick, of Nassau, of Cobourg, and several other princes.—The principal ambassadors and ministers were: from the pope, cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, prince Metternich; from Russia, prince Rasumovsky, counts Stakelberg, and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, lord Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington; from Prussia, prince Hardenberg and von Humboldt; from France, Talleyrand and Dalberg; from Spain, don Labrador; from Portugal, count Palmella, and count Lobo da Silveyra; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark,

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count Bernstorf; from Sweden, count Löwenhielm; from Sardinia, the marquis of St. Marsan; from Bavaria, baron Wrede, count Rechberg; from Wirtemberg, count Winzingerode; from Hanover, count Münster, count Hardenberg; from Saxony, count Schulenberg, and others.

91. The return of Napoleon from Elba to France was followed by a momentary overthrow of the yet unstable royal throne. How could it stand firm, when the nation as yet hardly knew its king, when the army, newly organised, swore fidelity with the mouth and not with the heart; and the eyes of both were still dazzled with the lustre of glory. But it was soon perceived that the re-erected imperial throne was no less weak, and found its support not in the nation, which merely suffered it, but in the army. What a prospect, however, if things should come to such a pass, that a rebellious army could prescribe laws to the empire and to Europe itself!

Napoleon landed at Cannes, March 1, 1815, with about one thousand five hundred men, and marched with celerity to Paris, without any great achievements, because he met with no resistance. The previous conspiracy does not seem to have been very extensive, because Napoleon could, and of course did, count on the assistance of the troops and their leaders on his appearance. He entered Paris, March 30; the king having withdrawn to Lille, and afterwards to Ghent. But his old power was not revived with his old title; instead of ruling the parties as formerly, he seems to have been swayed by them; and the comedy of the Champ de Mai (June 1) exhibited only the caricature of Charles the Great. So much the more energetic were his warlike preparations; for he was well aware that all his proffers would not give him peace.

92. The news of Napoleon's return fortunately reached the congress while still sitting. This rendered the most speedy and decisive measures possible, and they were accordingly adopted. By a special act the usurper was declared the enemy of nations, and to have forfeited the protection of the laws; and all the powers, both great and small, immediately entered into a firm combination against him. The fortune of war might waver, but his final overthrow seemed inevitable; for the princes could now depend on the hearty concurrence of their respective nations.

A declaration against Napoleon was signed, March 13, 1815, by Austria, Prussia, England; and Russia, as well as by France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. And soon after, an alliance was concluded between the four leading powers at Vienna, March 25. *a.* Repetition of the alliance at Chaumont, (see p. 343,) for the maintenance of the tranquillity and independence of Europe against Napoleon Buonaparte and his followers. *b.* The contingent of each power was fixed at 180,000 men. *c.* All the powers of Europe were invited to join the alliance.—All of them with the exception of Sweden, (which was still occupied with Norway,) and all the states of Germany, including Switzerland, acceded in order; Spain conditionally; and a subsidiary treaty was concluded with Great Britian. The sum of all the contingents to be furnished amounted to 1,057,400 men.

93. Again, therefore, all Europe was plunged in commotion by a single man; for the danger was great though it was not deemed such; and it was easy to prophecy that the usurper would

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not wait for the union of the hostile forces: An army, composed of British, German, and Prussian forces was assembled with the utmost speed under Wellington and Blucher. Napoleon also made his preparations with equal activity; but the great day at Waterloo hurled him at once to the ground and saved Europe.

Napoleon pressed forward across the boundaries with 170,000 men, June 15, 1815. A battle was fought at Ligny against Blucher, June 16; who after a bold resistance (the grey hero himself was wounded by the kick of a horse) was forced back to Wavre. On the same day Ney risked an action with the duke of Brunswick at Quatre Bras, who fell the victim of his inherited valour. Meanwhile the army of Wellington, consisting of British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and the soldiers of Brunswick and Nassau, was drawn up at Waterloo and La Belle Alliance. Napoleon commenced the attack at noon of June 18, with a great superiority. After a formidable conflict the victory fluctuated till the evening, when Blucher appeared with his auxiliaries at the right crisis. This was decisive. The French army was routed, put to flight, pursued by Gneisenau, and totally dispersed. Napoleon, abandoning every thing, escaped with difficulty to Paris, to bring the news of his own defeat. His star had set for ever!

94. The second taking of Paris without bloodshed was the consequence of that victory, but whether it would result in the submission of France might seem uncertain. The remains of the defeated army retreated, conformably to the convention, beyond the Loire; the commanders of most of the fortresses refused obedience; but without a dissolution of the army no security was to be expected. The first and most im-

portant step was to impel its chief after his return to the capital to execute a new abdication. In order not to be deposed he abdicated at the request of the chambers convened by him; and the disbanding of the army by its generals was happily accomplished. Meanwhile he retreated to Rochefort in order to escape to America; and finding that impossible, he surrendered to the English.

Napoleon's abdication in favour of his son, June 22, was accepted by the chambers, so called, on the 23rd. How much single advisers, especially a Fouché (the head of the provisory board of government,) may have contributed towards it, (the former minister of police and his former master were unquestionably the best acquainted with each other,) is reserved for the future to divulge. He set out for Rochefort June 28; and after useless attempts to escape, surrendered to admiral Hotham, and the British ship of the line Bellerophon, July 15, in which he was transported to England, and from thence being transferred to the Northumberland without landing, according to the resolution adopted in common by the allied powers, July 31, he was conveyed to the island of St. Helena, Aug. 8, where he landed, Oct. 16, and was detained as a prisoner of war till his death, every attempt to liberate him having been declared a capital crime by parliament, April 11, 1816. Quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregit!

95. The king returned to his capital after an absence of one hundred days. But what exertions and what experience had not the allies made in these hundred days! Should they, at their own expense, re-establish the royal throne of France, to see it perhaps again overthrown? A remuneration for what had been spent, and

July 9, 1815.

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security for the future they owed not only to themselves but also to their subjects, who had suffered already for their former magnanimity. New negotiations had therefore to be opened with the restored regal government; and it was agreed that remuneration should be obtained by a sum of money, and security by an adjustment of boundaries, with the cession of four fortified places, and a temporary occupation of the frontiers at the cost of France.

By the second treaty of Paris, concluded after long conferences, Nov. 20, 1815: *a.* An adjustment of the boundaries was made with the cession of the four fortresses Philippville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs as far as the Lauter; and in Italy, of the part of Savoy, that had remained to France, (see p. 348.) *b.* The fortress Huningen was demolished. *c.* The northern and eastern frontier of France with eighteen fortresses was to be occupied at the cost of France, for at least three years, by an army of the allies of 150,000 men; after the expiration of that time, it was to be seen whether circumstances would admit of their removal. *d.* As a remuneration, France agreed to pay at fixed times, the sum of seven hundred millions of francs, (not including the claims of private individuals.) Both this and the rest of the above conditions were fixed by separate conventions.— The ill-gotten monuments of art with which Paris was embellished, the sacred property of the nations, were with strict justice taken back without any particular convention. Not without murmurs had they been permitted to remain at the first taking of Paris.

The plenipotentiaries at this treaty were: from France, Richelieu; from Austria, Metternich and Wessenberg; from England, lord Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington; from Russia, prince Rasumovsky and count Capo d' Istria; from Prussia, prince Hardenberg and von Humboldt.

96. In Napoleon's fall his brother-in-law Murat of Naples, reaping the reward of his ambiguity, was involved. At the apparent progress of Buonaparte, Murat also declared for him; but Austria gave him no time to furnish assistance. After a campaign of less than two months he lost his kingdom, and wandering about like a fugitive, soon after lost his life as a criminal.

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Since their restoration the Bourbon courts had declared against Murat, Dec. 1814. England also refused all connection with him, Jan. 25, 1815. He was engaged in making preparations before Napoleon's landing, and immediately after manifested his warlike intentions by exhorting the nations of Italy to vindicate their liberty, March 30. Austria declared war against him, April 10, and signed an alliance with Ferdinand of Sicily, April 29. Actions took place on the Po with Bianchi and Nugent, but Murat was soon forced to retreat. After the battle at Tolentino, May 2, 3, and on the Garigliano, May 16, general Carascosa capitulated on the 20th. Naples was conquered and Ferdinand restored. Murat escaped to France by way of Ischia. After Napoleon's defeat he fled to Corsica: and having afterwards made a descent upon Pizzo in Calabria, he was taken prisoner and shot as a rebel, Oct. 13.

97. The fate of the Scandinavian kingdoms was already fully developed. Though after the peace of Kiel (see p. 338) Norway would not acquiesce in the cession made by Denmark to Sweden, but on the contrary proclaimed its governor king, it required only a short and almost bloodless campaign of the prince royal

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of Sweden to make the peace effectual. The assurance given to Norway of freedom and political independence operated far more than arms; and Sweden and Norway were thus united like two kingdoms under the sceptre of the same monarch.

After the promulgation of the peace of Kiel, Jan. 14; 1814, great commotions arose in Norway. It was proclaimed independent by the governer, prince Christian Frederic of Denmark, Feb. 19. A diet *(Storthing)* was convoked at Eidswold, April 10, by which he was declared constitutional king, May 17. Useless attempts at a compromise were made by a commission of the allies (July), who insisted on submission; and it was blockaded by British ships. Hostilities commenced, Aug. 4; but after some unimportant skirmishes, and the surrender of the border fortresses, by which the road to Christiana was left open, a truce was agreed upon at Moss, Aug. 14. Prince Christian Frederic resigned, Aug. 16. The Storthing at Christiana declared, on Oct. 20, Norway to be united, as an independent kingdom, with the crown of Sweden; and Charles XIII. was proclaimed king of Norway, Nov. 4, 1814.

98. On an island rock, in the midst of the ocean, died, almost unnoticed, the man, whose name but a short space before, had filled the world. His plans were wrecked; and from the thraldom, which he was preparing for the nations, there sprang up liberty in more than one quarter of the globe. Unknown to himself, he was but the instrument of a higher power; for his objects were not its objects. Whatever judgment posterity may pass on him, universal history can view him only from this point.

Napoleon Buonaparte died on the island of St Helena, May 5, 1821.

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The works published by the companions of his exile at St. Helena, such as: *Mémorial de Sainte Héléne, ou journal où se trouvè consigné jour par jour ce que dit et fait Napoléon durant dixhuit mois*, par le comte DE LAS CASAS. à Paris, 1823, 8 vols. 8vo. And:

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à St. Héléne sous sa dictée, par les généraux qui ont partagé sa captivité, et publiés sur les manuscrits entièrement corrigés de la main de Napoléon. Mémoires, tom. i. ii. écrits par le général GOURGAUD; tom. iii. par le général MONTHOLON, —contain only so much as Napoleon himself chose to let the world know of his conduct. No one therefore will consider them as pure sources of historical information.

The best and most circumstantial disclosures relative to the personal character of this extraordinary man, are furnished in, *Mémoires de* BOURIENNE. à Paris, 1828, 8 vols. 8vo. The author was the friend of Napoleon's youth and his private secretary, till he ascended the throne. The biographies compiled even by celebrated writers supply us with no additional information.

SECOND SECTION.

History of Colonial Affairs, from 1804—1830.

1. The great convulsions and revolutions in Europe during this period must have exercised an influence so much the more direct on the colonies, as it was less practicable to enforce on them the project of an universal monarchy. This could lead to nothing else than to their independence, as far as it was compatible with their nature and the maritime dominion of the

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British. A new order of things began in America; the flames of revolution communicated from the old world to the new, and kindled there a conflagration no less violent. From their nature and political relations, the East Indies were proof against them; but here too, equally important alterations of another kind were prepared, as well as in Africa. Even the fifth portion of the world, its continent and its islands, received a continually increasing share of European civilisation.

2. The United States of America underwent in this period no changes in their constitution. But theirt erritory, (by the purchase of Louisiana, see p. 205, and the acquisition of Florida,) its population and revenues, were doubled; and their boundary, both on the British and the Spanish side, was the Pacific. Colonisation in the western territory as well as in Louisiana, advanced with a rapidity beyond all expectation, and increased the number of allied states from seventeen to twenty-four, several of the territories being admitted into the union.

The two Floridas were acquired in consideration of the surrender of pecuniary demands, from Spain, Oct. 24, 1820, ratified by the president, March 22, 1821. At the same time the boundaries on the side of Mexico were determined by the rivers Sabine and Arkansas and by the parallel of 42° N. Lat., from the sources of those rivers to the Pacific. And with respect to England, conformably to the treaty of Ghent (see below,) the boundary line extended from the Lake of the Woods, along the parallel of 49° N. Lat., to the Pacific.

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Besides the district of Columbia, the territory of the capital Washington, the twenty-four United States at present are: 1. Pennsylvania. 2. New York. 3. Maryland. 4. Delaware. 5. Rhode Island. 6. Connecticut. 7. Massachusets. 8. New Jersey. 9. Vermont. 10. New Hampshire. 11. Maine. 12. Virginia. 13. North Carolina. 14. South Carolina. 15. Georgia. 16. Tennessee. 17. Kentucky. 18. Ohio, 19. Indiana. 20. Illinois. 21. Louisiana. 22. Mississippi (to the east of Louisiana). 23. Alabama. 24. Missouri, Florida was declared a territory as well as Michigan. West Florida from the Mississippi to the river Perdido was previously claimed as a part of Louisiana, and occupied, Oct. 20, 1810.—The population was augmented from six to about ten millions, the public revenues from twelve to twenty-four millions of dollars, without increase of taxes.

3. Though the constitution remained unaltered, party spirit was nevertheless excited, and there were moments when it threatened to become dangerous. The parties of the democrats and federalists, (the former being strongest in the southern and interior states, and originally the favourers of the agricultural system, while the latter, prevailing in the north, were the advocates of the commercial system,) found encouragement and support, in the disputes between France and England, and almost became, the former a French, the latter an English party. But the love of their common country and the attack of the British on the capital united both; and after the restoration of peace in Europe, these parties became to all appearance mere names.

4. A commercial state like that of America

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could not possibly avoid being involved in those contentions which made the war between France and England a commercial war. The collisions were necessarily most violent with the state, that had the mastery of the sea, and eventually led to a war, as France artfully took advantage of them to increase her own influence.

The pre-existing causes of contention (see p. 204), still continued, and were aggravated by the increasing opression of navigation and commerce. On that account the *Non Importation Act* was passed, against the importation of British manufactures. Negotiations continued; but the differences were augmented, partly by single occurrences at sea, but principally by the British orders in council and the French decrees of 1806 and 1807, (see p. 285,) by which the trade of neutrals was in fact annihilated. In consequence, a prohibition was laid on their own navigation by the *Embargo Act*, Dec. 22, 1807, and by the *Non Intercourse Act*, March 1, 1809. All trade with England, and with France and its colonies, was interdicted, together with the importation of the products of either, till those orders should be revoked. It was repeated with greater restrictions, May 1, 1810. This was followed, on the side of Napoleon, by a partial annulment of his decrees, with respect to America, April 28, 1811. From that time America became more friendly to France, and more estranged from England, till the declaration of war against it, June 18, 1812, after a previous general embargo on all the vessels then in the harbours of the United States, whether domestic or foreign, April 4. The declaration of England, that it would recall its orders in council, June 24, came too late.

5. It could not be a war, like that which was raging in Europe. It was carried on with moderate bodies of soldiers on the boundaries, espe-

cially of Canada, and with single ships. Though the new American navy gained a glorious distinction in this contest, the army was not so fortunate; the capital itself became the spoil of the English, but New Orleans was defended with courage and success. The negotiations at Ghent led, in a happy hour, to the conclusion of a peace, which again left England free and unembarrassed in the war that broke out soon after in Europe.

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The petty war on the frontiers and lakes of Canada, into which the natives were unfortunately drawn, had an unsuccessful termination for America on the mainland, but the English were, nevertheless, unable to penetrate far into the interior. The city of Washington was attacked and all the public buildings reduced to ashes, by general Ross, Aug. 24, 1814, a proceeding which was condemned in England itself. But a fruitless attack on New Orleans was made by general Packenham, who fell in the action; the city was gallantly defended by general Jackson, Jan. 8, 1815, the peace of Ghent having been signed a short time before, Dec. 24, 1814. Conditions: *a.* A settlement of boundaries on the side of Canada to the remote Lake of the Woods, and of the islands in Passamaquoddy bay, to be afterwards adjusted by commissioners. *b.* Restoration of all conquests. *c.* Both parties bound themselves to do their utmost to abolish the slave trade.

The plenipotentiaries at Ghent were: on the part of England, admiral Gambier, etc.; on the part of America, Alb. Gallatin, J. Q. Adams, H. Clay, etc.

The Diplomacy of the United States, being an account of the foreign relations of the country, from the first treaty with France in 1778 *to the present times.* Second edition, with additions by THEODORE LYMAN. Boston, 1828, 2 vols. 8vo. The work contains an historical discussion of the various con-

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tracts entered into with European states during the above period, including the original documents.

6. The greatest immediate advantage which America, now become known both in her strength and in her weakness, derived, nothwithstanding the increase of the public debt, from the war, was a greater consolidation of the union, especially since the burning of Washington, which put an end to all ideas of separating the southern and northern provinces. The more indirect advantages arose from the impulse, given by the previous prohibitions to her manufacturing industry, and the necessity it caused to be felt of a navy, to which the leading energies of the nation were afterwards directed, with the restriction, however, to what her actual security demanded. England itself had raised up a new rival! But was not such another rival almost indispensable for the maintenance of its own power?

7. With the return of peace the navigation and trade of the republic was diffused over every sea. Her flags were displayed in the two Indies, in China, and in Europe; and in the Mediterranean the piratical states had to tremble before her. Her territory now extends to the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacific; the whole immense regions of the Mississippi, with its tributary rivers, belong to her; the purchase of Louisiana, where a rich commercial city already rises in New Orleans, holds a place among the

events in which the world is interested; and the possession of the Floridas, which completes her territory, seems to promise her at some time the dominion of the West Indies. Meanwhile internal improvement advances with rapid strides. Such works as the Erie canal and others now in progress, in connection with the inestimably important invention of steam carriage, will open a line of inland communication, from the sources of the Missouri and its tributary rivers, to the mouths of the Mississippi, as well as the Hudson, where New York already flourishes as the first commercial city of the new world; and the times are coming when a man may travel with the mail from one ocean to the other.

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The practical maritime right of the United States, in their treaties of commerce and regulations, is based on the strictest reciprocity. So in their act of navigation, March 1, 1817, the prohibition "of the introduction of goods from a foreign harbour, except in ships of the United States, or such as belong to the subjects or citizens of the country, where the articles were produced or manufactured," does not bind the vessels of any foreign nation which has not adopted, or will not adopt, any similar regulation. There is an especial act of the same date, "that all British ships coming from ports to which American ships are not admitted, (West Indies,) shall not be admitted in an American port." The treaty of commerce with England, July 3, 1815, contained the following articles: *a.* Reciprocity in respect to freedom of trade and duties. *b.* The Americans were to enjoy the privileges of free trade in all the British East India ports; they were not to pursue any coasting trade or unload their East India cargoes in any other ports than those belonging to the United States.

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The differences relative to the American trade with the British West Indies are not as yet adjusted, and the victory gained by the mercantile interest over the partisans of free trade, in the congress of 1826, in consequence of raising the duties on all articles of foreign manufacture, may easily occasion still further disputes.

A statistical view of the commerce of the United States of America; its connexion with agriculture and manufactures, and an account of the public debt, revenues, and expenditures of the United States; accompanied with tables illustrative of the principles and objects of the work, by TIMOTHY PITKIN, a member of the house of representatives. Hartford, 1816.—The best and latest statistics of the United States.

Statistical annals of the United States of America, founded on official documents, by ADAM SEYBERT. 1818, 4to. Statistical materials for the period extending from 1789 to 1818, but rather a crude performance.

8. The fidelity of the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia was tried in the last war with America. Why should those colonies strive after independence, which are already possessed of a free constitution, which suffer no religious constraint, pay no taxes, and see their colonisation and trade becoming every year more and more flourishing? If their importance was doubled in the eyes of England, which in the times of embargos drew from them the necessary supplies of timber and corn, etc. for itself and the West Indies, it has requited this by milder treatment than any other colony can boast of. The warnings of history have not been given in vain! And yet the spirit of discontent has already manifested itself in the op-

position raised against the house of assembly and the governor, with his dependent council. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

By the constitutions of Lower and Upper Canada, as established by the act of parliament, 1791, the former has a governor-general, the latter a governor, subordinate to the governor-general only in military affairs. At the side of the governor is a council, (Upper house,) consisting of fifteen members in Lower Canada, and seven members in Upper Canada, appointed by the governor for life, and an assembly (Lower house,) consisting of fifteen and sixteen members, chosen every four years by the proprietors. The bills that have passed the council and assembly only require the signature of the governor, and become laws, unless the king expresses his disapprobation in two years. In 1788 the parliament resigned the right of taxation, with the exception of the power of making commercial regulations; and the Test Act was here superseded by the Quebec Act, 1774, (see p. 101.)

Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, *and* 1808; *showing the present state of Canada, etc.*, by HUGH GRAY. London, 1809. Containing a good deal of valuable information, but not free from British prejudices.

A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks on Upper Canada, by JOSEPH BOUCHETTE. London, 1815. The leading work for the modern statistics of Canada, with an excellent atlas.

9. In a different mode from North America, a new state arose in the southern continent. The empire of Brazil—expressly declared such by its ruler—about equal in extent to European Russia, but far more richly endowed by nature, was a consequence of the fate of the mother country, (see p. 289). From this time it was impossible Dec. 1815. 1807.

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March, 1808.

again to make it a colony, even when the king returned to Europe; the natural result was the opening of the ports of Brazil to all neutral and friendly states, which soon began to ameliorate the social condition. From this time the complete separation of Brazil from the mother country might very reasonably have been expected, though it could only take place gradually, and indeed was impracticable till the king, John VI., returned to Europe; he, however, left behind him his eldest son, Don Pedro, and family, to administer the affairs of the empire in quality of regent.

Marriage of the crown prince with an archduchess of Austria, Oct. 1817, who brought him a heir to the throne. Her death, Dec. 11, 1826. Second marriage, with a Bavarian princess, Oct. 17, 1829.

10. But notwithstanding the elevation of the colony into an empire, nothing was said of forming a constitution, which the circumstances as well as the voice of the people seemed so loudly to demand. Thus the valuable moment was let slip, when it was still possible to give freely, instead of being obliged to accept what would never have been given. The forced adoption of the new Portuguese constitution left the king, there, as in the mother country, nothing but the shadow of authority; and the natural consequence was his return to Europe.

An insurrection broke out among the soldiery in Para, and afterwards in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio Janeiro, Feb.—

April, 1821, and the—as yet imperfect—Portuguese constitution was adopted; after which the king, with his court, sailed for Portugal, April 26. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

11. After this time, and as soon as the Portuguese military had been put down by main force, there followed a gradual declaration of independence on the part of Brazil, and its elevation to the rank of an empire, which was even recognised by Portugal, shortly before the death of the king.

The prince regent announced his determination to remain in Brazil, Jan. 15, 1822; assumed the title of "perpetual defender of the kingdom," May 13. Upon the expulsion of the Portuguese troops he proclaimed the independence of Brazil, Aug.; and soon after appointed himself, "constitutional and hereditary emperor," Oct. 12. The differences arising therefrom, between this country and Portugal, lasted until the king, John VI., was induced, by British mediation, to recognise its independence, May 15, 1825; this was followed by a treaty, concluded Sept. 29, and ratified at Lisbon, Nov. 15; agreeably to which John VI. reserved to himself the imperial title only during his life, (died March 10, 1826); and on the other hand the emperor Pedro I. engaged not to unite any other Portuguese colony with Brazil.

12. The declaration of independence rendered it necessary to adopt some form of constitution, which, in a monarchical state, surrounded as it was by pure republics, was a matter of peculiar difficulty. The imperial authority, it was thought, could never be restrained within too strict limits, and the congress summoned to debate on this question, were willing enough to

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give, but not to accept, a constitution. And though, after dissolving the congress, the emperor himself did, in point of fact, give the constitution, yet it was not without a compromise of the monarchical principle.

The first national congress assembled, Aug. 1822, and drew up a plan of a constitution, which was rejected by the emperor. The congress forcibly dissolved, because it had declared itself permanent, Nov. 12. A second convened in May, 1823, which accepted the constitution laid before it by the emperor, Dec. 17. According to this, the government was to be monarchical and hereditary; the general assembly to consist of two chambers; that of the senators, who were to be nominated for life by the emperor, from a certain list submitted to him, and that of the deputies, who were to be elective. The monarchical principle, however, was herein compromised, viz. that a legislative measure was to have the force of law, even without the imperial sanction, provided the latter had been twice refused.

13. The new empire, however, was soon involved in a war with the neighbouring republic of Buenos Ayres, for the express purpose of uniting the Banda Oriental with Brazil, after taking possession of Monte-Video with Brazilian troops. This war, after being carried on with various success by sea and land, terminated at last to the advantage of neither party, the country in question being declared a free state through the mediation of the British.

War declared by Brazil against Buenos Ayres, Dec. 10, 1825. Independence of the Banda Oriental proclaimed, Dec. 11, 1828, under the title of the Cisplatine Republic. Noti-

fication of peace at the opening of the chambers in Rio Janeiro, May 3, 1829.

14. Thus has there arisen in South America, a mighty empire indeed, in point of extent, and containing within itself the gérms of further development; though we must not expect it to make such a rapid progress as the free united states of North America. This can only proceed from the enjoyment of religious and political freedom, both of which are here very much restricted, notwithstanding some liberal regulations. Brazil possesses much more of the character of a plantation, than an agricultural colony, both as regards its productions and the cultivation of the soil, which is performed almost wholly by negro slaves, the trade in whom still continues without interruption. It is true, their number, as compared to that of the free inhabitants, is much less here than in the West Indies; they are all christians, are pretty well treated, enjoy the numerous festivals of the Romish church to themselves, and besides have the privilege of purchasing their own freedom; but still they are slaves, and contribute to support the indolence of their masters. The abolition of the slave trade, and the gradual augmentation of free labourers must alone constitute the foundation of the prosperity of this state. Experience will show whether the promised discontinuance of importing slaves, to have taken place in 1830, is fulfilled or not.

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For want of Portuguese sources of information we can only refer to the works of recent travellers, such as that of COSTER, for the northern, and that of MAWE, for the southern provinces, together with the travels of prince MAXIMILIAN VON NEUWIED. Respecting the interior of the country, which is still in great measure unexplored, additional information may be obtained from the travels of the Bavarian naturalists SPIX and MARTIUS, besides what is promised in the forthcoming works of the Austrian and Russian travellers in Brazil.

15. For Spanish America, also, the political convulsions of the mother country introduced a new period, the period of the struggle for liberty and independence. It did not, however, by any means originate in the intention of an entire separation from the Spanish throne, but only from resistance to the usurpation of Napoleon and his brother Joseph. The American insurgents were therefore no more rebels than the Spaniards themselves. But they were as unwilling to be ruled by Spanish Juntas, as by their viceroys and captains-general, in whom they did not, and, for the most part, could not confide. Like the Spanish they established Juntas (governments) of their own, during the imprisonment of their legitimate king. Meanwhile after the erection of the regency in the mother country, and its refusal to comply with their just demands, they in turn refused to recognise its authority, or the authority of the Cortes assembled by it; upon this they were declared rebels. They were thus forced upon a line of conduct which they had not previously

Aug. 31, 1810.

determined to adopt; and after the accession of Ferdinand VII. they had gone too far to retreat, even had more moderation and sincerity been evinced on the part of the throne and its officers than was done. But they were immediately ordered to lay aside their arms, and a hostile treatment was exercised towards them by sending out Morillo. The contest continued with varying success in Caraccas, New Granada, Mexico, La Plata, Chili, and Peru. But the year 1821, after the loss of Mexico and Lima, and the victory of the insurgents in Venezuela, if it did not put a complete end to it, seems, nevertheless, to have brought it near a termination; since hardly two or three small corps of Spanish troops were able to maintain themselves in single places.

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Aug. 4. 1814.

Previous to the dethronement of the royal family, no traces of insurrection had appeared in the Spanish colonies (the attempts of Miranda in Caraccas, 1806, who was able to collect but a small number of followers, having been immediately suppressed;) the account of this transaction, in July, 1808, gave the first impulse to ulterior proceedings. The demands submitted to the regency, Dec. 31, 1810, were: *a.* Equality of rights with the inhabitants of the mother country. *b.* Freedom of cultivating all productions and manufactures. *c.* Freedom of importation and exportation from and to all Spanish and friendly harbours. *d.* Free trade between Spanish America and the possessions in America. *e.* Likewise from the Philippines to the Spanish colonies. *f.* The abolition of all commercial monopolies, in consideration of an indemnification by duties. *g.* Freedom of working the quicksilver mines. *h.* The eligibility of all Spanish Americans to all offices and dignities.

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i. That half the offices should be filled by them. *j*. That a Junta should watch over the observation of these points in each capital. *k*. The restoration of the Jesuits for the instruction and conversion of the Indians.

1. CARACCAS or VENEZUELA, six provinces. The inhabitants petitioned for the establishment of a Junta; but the governor Las Casas caused the petitioners to be arrested. A supreme Junta was erected for maintaining the rights of Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish magistrates were imprisoned, April 19, 1810. But after the declaration of rebellion by the regency, the congress of the United States of Venezuela was convened, and the republic proclaimed independent, July 5, 1811; comprising the provinces Caraccas, Cumana, Maracaibo, Guaiana, Barinos, and the island Margarita. Affairs seemed in a prosperous state, when every thing was destroyed by the terrible earthquake of March 26, 1812. The contest, however, was continued, at first under Miranda, and, after 1813, under Simon Bolivar. Upon the arrival of Morillo, June 1815, and the conquest of Cartagena, Dec. 5, the insurgents seemed to lose ground. They maintained themselves, however, in the interior, especially in Guiana, whither the congress transferred its sessions, to Angostura, while the Spanish made themselves masters of the maritime cities. Never before was war waged with such atrocities, till it was apparently terminated by the truce between Bolivar and Morillo, Nov. 25, 1820. But after the resignation of Morillo, hostilities commenced afresh. Bolivar gained a decisive victory at Carabobo in the neighbourhood of Valencia, June 24, 1821, in consequence of which the Spaniards retained nothing but Porto Cabello; and upon the evacuation of this latter place, Nov. 10, 1823, there were no more Spaniards here to overcome.

8. NEW GRANADA, with twenty-two provinces, among which were Cartagena and Quito. A Junta was established in the capital, Santa Fè di Bogota, July 20, 1810, which caused the viceroy to be arrested. But a part only of the provinces joined. The scenes of barbarity perpetrated in Quito, Aug. 2, 1810, excited the greatest indignation, where the leaders

of the patriots, having been arrested by the troops of the viceroy of Peru, were murdered in prison and the city sacked. The provinces of Nueva Granada could never attain mutual harmony; even a civil war broke out, and the fall of Carthagena opened to Morillo an avenue to the capital, June, 1816. But the Spanish were unable to maintain themselves there; the victorious campaign of the insurgents in 1819, deprived them again of the capital, which was entered by Bolivar on the 10th of August. After that time, preparations were made to unite with Venezuela and form a common republic, under the name of Columbia. See below.

3. MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN, the principal country. A stronger military force, and the firmness of the viceroy Venega, delayed the rupture for a long time. The rebellion was begun by an ecclesiastic, Hidalgo, in Guanaxuata, Sept. 1810. He was soon at the head of a numerous army, but he was excommunicated, defeated, taken prisoner, and executed, March 21, 1811. After him Morelos became the principal leader; the insurrection spread to New Mexico and Acapulco, promoted by the cruelty of the new viceroy Apodaca, till Oct. 1815, when the same fate befel Morelos, and soon afterwards his successor Mina, Dec. 11, 1815. The insurgents were unable to gain possession of the capital, on which every thing depended; the Junta, that was formed, had no fixed seat, and the character of the coasts rendered foreign aid and importation of arms almost impossible. The royal power appeared here to have the preponderance; without however, the insurrection being entirely quelled. There was only need of a common leader, to unite the dispersed forces. Such a one the insurgents acquired in Don Iturbide, 1820. The insurrection now became more general than ever; even the newly-arrived viceroy, O'Donojou, was forced to make a treaty, Aug. 24, 1821, in which he acknowledged the independence of the empire of Mexico; and Iturbide made his entrance into the capital, Sept. 27, without bloodshed. In the disputes, however, which soon followed, with the assembled Cortes, Iturbide was unable to maintain himself

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against the republican party; he therefore resigned, March 16, 1823, and was obliged to leave America; and upon his venturing to return thither from Europe, was apprehended and shot, July 19, 1824. After the surrender of Vera Cruz, Oct. 26, 1821, the fort of San Juan D'Ulloa was the sole remaining possession in the hands of the Spaniards, and this too was given up after a tedious blockade, Dec. 18, 1825. In the mean time, a sovereign congress was assembled, which proclaimed the federative republic of Mexico, Dec. 16, 1823, and published a formal attestation of the constitutional government, Jan. 31, 1824 (see below). From this time a period of internal tranquillity succeeded, until the ecclesiastical relations of the country, and the intermeddling of the pope, gave rise to a series of quarrels with the clergy, which were soon afterwards followed by similar disputes between the Creoles and the Spanish inhabitants. Thus were formed the two parties of the Escossesos (Scots) and Jorkinos, (Yorkites) so called after their respective Masonic lodges, the former comprehending the aristocrats, that is the clergy and Spaniards, the latter the popular faction, or Creoles, 1827. The congress passed a decree for suspending the Spaniards from office, May 14, and expelling the clergy and unmarried Spaniards from the country, Oct. 16. These disputes had a reflex influence on the election of the president. The vice-president Bravo, raised himself in opposition to the president Guadelupe Vittoria; but was soon overcome by general Guerrero, Jan. 1828, and the latter, through the influence of the Jorkinos under general Santa Anna, was elevated to the presidency, Jan. 1, 1829, upon this immediately followed the edict for the total expulsion of the Spaniards, who had concerted a plan for making a descent from the Havanna, and had actually commenced putting it into execution under general Barradas; the attempt, however, was foiled by Santa Anna, who forced the Spaniards, upon their landing, to capitulate near Tampico, Sep. 11, 1829, and in this manner established the independence of Mexico.

Memoirs of the Mexican revolution; including a narrative

of the expedition of general Minas. Philadelphia, 1820. By an American who was present. Hitherto the most credible narrative, but it goes no further than 1819. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

Further information respecting Mexico as well as the other new states will be found in:

L'Art de vérifier les dates depuis l'année 1770, *jusqu' à* 1826, vols. ix. x.; a work which supplies the most correct chronological data on this subject.—Consult also:

Jahrbücher der Geschichte von America, 1492—1829, von G. W. Hugo.

4. Rio de la Plata or Buenos Ayres, in fourteen provinces. The strength of the capital had been tried in the repeated attacks of the British, 1806 and 1807 (see p. 269.) A Junta was first established, after the execution of the ex-viceroy Liniers, May 21, 1810; but its authority was not recognised by all the provinces. A constituent assembly was finally established, consisting of deputies from the towns of all the provinces of the viceroyalty, Jan. 31, 1813. A government was organised consisting at first of three members; but soon afterwards of one director and a council of seven members, Dec. 31. Its entire independence was proclaimed, July 9, 1816. The new republic had to contend with the Spanish troops from Peru in the upper provinces, with the partizans of Artigas, who appeared as an independent chief in Paraguay, and with the Portuguese, who occupied Monte-Video; it sustained the conflict with varied success. The republic, however, has been sorely curtailed in its extent, owing to the separation of Upper Peru, (Bolivia,) as well as the Banda oriental. Moreover between the principal province of Buenos Ayres, and those of the interior, jealousies and disputes arose which led to a separation, as the interior provinces did not choose to recognise the authority of Buenos Ayres. To this may be referred the war with Brazil for the possession of Monte-Video already noticed, (see p. 370). In fine, Sep. 21, 1827, an agreement, to which the other provinces acceded, was entered into between Buenos Ayres and Cordova, (as the most important province,) for adopting a federative govern-

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ment, though at the same time a preponderating influence was given to Buenos Ayres, by the nomination of Dorrego as president, after the departure of Rivadavia. This however did not put an end to the disputes of the interior, where the chiefs were always making war upon one another.

5. BOLIVIA. This republic was founded after the victory at Ayacucho by Bolivar, out of Upper Peru, April 11, 1825; and assumed of its own accord the name of Bolivia, Aug. 12, the same year.

6. CHILI. The insurrection began as early as 1810. A congress assembled at Santiago, and the captain-general was obliged to resign his office. But internal discord prevailed. An opposition to the congress was formed by the brothers Carrera, and a Junta erected, which dissolved the congress, Dec. 1811. The despotism of the Carreras occasioned serious disturbances and even a civil war, which facilitated the attempts of the Spanish to subjugate the country, Oct. 1814. But in Jan. 1817, Gen. San Martin advanced from La Plata across the Andes with a body of troops; he gained a victory at Chacabuco, Feb. 12, and convened a congress. The Spanish, pressing forward again under Osorio, were routed at Maipo, April 5, 1818, and the Spanish dominion was at an end. On Jan. 1, 1818, Chili was proclaimed independent. The establishment of a navy, under the British admiral Cochrane, who had entered its service, gave this state a peculiar degree of importance. From this time there was no further opposition to overcome, and internal tranquillity prevailed here under the director O'Higgins, until May 9, 1823, when he was dispossessed by general Friere, who himself gave way to Don Pinto, May 29, 1826, who was re-elected in 1828.

MARIA GRAHAM, *Journal of a residence in Chili during the year* 1822, London, 1824, 8vo. Contains the best account of the occurrences which had taken place in that country up to the year 1822.

7. PERU. The Spanish dominion was maintained the longest in the capital Lima, and the greater part of Peru (with the exception perhaps of the southern provinces)

though a powerful opposition was organised against it. But the attack on Lima by San Martin, from the land, while Cochrane blockaded the harbour of Callao, forced the Spanish to leave Lima, which was entered by San Martin, July 16, 1821. Callao capitulated, Sept. 19. In the southern provinces, however, a Spanish corps still maintained itself, which being reinforced by general Canterac, succeeded in recapturing Lima, June 18, 1823. At this juncture Bolivar, the liberator of Columbia, undertook the liberation of Peru; and as early as Sept. 1, of the same year, made his entry into Lima, was placed at the head of the republic, and, Feb. 10, 1824, nominated dictator of Peru. Victory over general Canterac, near Junin on the Lake of Titicaca, Aug. 4, 1824, and a decisive one gained by gen. Sucre at Ayacucho, Dec. 9; after which the Spanish army was obliged to capitulate. In consequence of this victory, which was followed by the surrender of Callao under gen. Rodil, though not indeed till Jan. 19, 1826, Peru was completely freed from Spanish dominion.

Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America, or an account of the origin, progress, and actual state of the war carried on between Spain and Spanish America, by a South American. London, 1817. Hitherto the most credible narrative of the events, so disguised as they are by the spirit of party.

Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by JOHN MILLER, London, 1828, 8vo. The leading work for the history of the war. The author himself also served under Bolivar and Sucre.

8. The CAPITANIA of GUATIMALA likewise proclaimed itself independent, Sept. 24, 1821, (without however having any Spanish troops to contend against,) and assumed the title of Central America. Its tranquillity was afterwards disturbed by intestine party broils, which, in 1827, led to a civil war, without producing any decisive consequences.

16. Thus the power of Spain on the continent of America is in reality annihilated. The

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deep decay of the Spanish finances and navy; and the total paralysing of its commerce by the audacious privateering of the insurgents, must have aggravated to an extreme degree the difficulty of every undertaking. That the ancient relations, on which it formerly insisted, especially the commercial constraints, could no longer be enforced, Spain itself confessed in its negotiations with the allied powers; and the idea of a simple confederation, has been already, if not adopted, yet at least publicly agitated even in the mother country. Whatever forms its political relations may assume, we may consider the freedom of America as actually established, though not yet formally acknowledged by the parent state, unless this is sufficiently done by the existence of two powerful leading states in the north and south of this quarter of the globe. But notwithstanding the adoption of the political forms of North America, we must not look for that rapid progress of colonisation and population here, where the same obstacles are presented by religion, modes of life, and climate, as in Brazil. The Spanish American insurgents have their most dangerous enemy in themselves. Who will ensure solidity and permanence to these newly-arisen or newly-arising states? And though we see republican constitutions springing up almost every where in this continent, can republican constitutions subsist, even in the most favourable event, among nations, where

colour determines the caste (see vol. i. p. 87), and military commanders prescribe laws? And how can the universally proclaimed freedom of the press, be compatible with the hierarchy? An independence under monarchical forms of government, were perhaps equally desirable for America as it is for Europe.

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Towards the end of the year 1829, the following states of Spanish America, had either already adopted republican constitutions, or were on the point of doing so:

1. MEXICO. This republic, agreeably to its constitution, comprehends the following states. 1. Mexico. 2. Chiapa. 3. Texas. 4. Durango. 5. Guanaxuata. 6. Michoacan. 7. New Leon. 8. Oaxaca. 9. Pueblos de los Angelos. 10. Quevetaro. 11. San Luis de Potosi. 12. Sonora and Cimaloa. 13. Tabasco. 14. Tamaulipes. 15. Vera Cruz. 16. Chalisco. 17. Yucatan. 18. Zacotecas. 19. Tlascala. California and Santa Fé are territories belonging to New Mexico. The government, for the most part modelled after that of the United States, is federative, and administered by a congress of two chambers, viz. that of the senate, half of which is elected every two years, each state sending two members, and that of the deputies, who are elected once in two years, according to the rate of population, that is, one deputy for every forty thousand souls. The president and vice-president, are chosen once in four years, by the legislature of each state. The former can only be re-elected after an interval of four years.—Slavery was abolished by a decree of the republic, Sept. 15, 1829.

2. GUATIMALA OR CENTRAL AMERICA. This republic comprises the states of. 1. Guatimala. 2. San Salvador. 3. Nicaragua. 4. Costarica. 5. Honduras. The form of government is similar to that of Mexico; but the prevalence of intestine troubles make it extremely uncertain whether it will last.

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3. COLUMBIA. Upon the union of New Granada with Venezuela or Caraccas, which was effected after great exertions by Bolivar, Dec. 17, 1819, and the seat of congress removed to Santa Fé de Bogota; both countries, together with Quito, were comprised under the republic of Columbia, in eighteen provinces, seven of which belong to Venezuela, viz. 1. Cumana. 2. New Barcelona. 3. Varinas. 4. Caraccas. 5. Merida. 6. Truxillo. 7. The island of Margarita; eight to New Granada, viz. 8. Cundinamarca (Santa Fé de Bogota). 9. Neyva. 10. Pamplona. 11. Tunja. 12. Cartagena. 13. Antioquia. 14. Santa Martha. 15. Popajan; and three to Quito, viz. 16. Guayaquil. 17. Quito, and, 18. Pasto. The government is under a president, invested, at least at present, with dictatorial power, and a congress consisting of two chambers, the particular organisation of which is not yet determined. The provinces are departments, and not states, with a central government.

4. PERU. This republic contains seven provinces. 1. Lima. 2. Truxillo. 3. Tarma. 4. Arequipa. 5. Ayacucho. 6. Janja, and, 7. Cuzco. In addition to these its territory includes also the Pampas Del Sagramento and Montana Real, on the eastern side of the Andes, where there are only missions. The form of government, which is under a president and congress, is similar to that of Columbia.

5. CHILI. Contains the provinces of. 1. Santiago. 2. Coquimbo. 3. Acoacagua. 4. Maule. 5. Concepcion. 6. Valdivia. 7. Colchagua, and, 8. The island of Chiloe. The mode of government, under a director and congress, was established by the constitution, Aug. 6, 1828.

6. BOLIVIA. Founded by Bolivar, under general Sucre, comprises the provinces formerly belonging to Upper Peru. 1. Potosi. 2. Charcas. 3. La Paz. 4. Cochabamba. 5. Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 6. Oruro. Los Moxos contains only missions. The republic is at present under the orders of the grand marshal Sucre, and after him is to have a representative constitution.

7. PARAGUAY. This state is under the dominion of a single

person, the lawyer Dr. Francia, without any title, though invested with dictatorial power, the government having been conferred upon him by the people. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

Essai historique de Paraguay et le gouvernement dictatorial du docteur Francia, par MM. REUGGER et LONGCHAMP. à Paris, 1829, 8vo. Both these gentlemen have visited the country.

8. RIO DE LA PLATA, or BUENOS AYRES. Notwithstanding the separation of Upper Peru, and the Banda Oriental, this free state is still said to contain thirteen provinces, viz. 1. Buenos Ayres. 2. Santa Fé. 3. Entre Rios. 4. Corrientes. 5. Tucuman. 6. Cordova. 7. Santiago del Estero. 8. Salta. 9. Mendoza. 10. San Juan de la Frontera. 11. Rioja. 12. Catamarca, and, 13. San Luis. These are reported to form a federal state under a director and a congress; it is however uncertain whether the constitution is permanently fixed.

9. CIS-PLATINA; comprising the Banda Oriental and Monte-Video. The constitution is not yet definitively settled.

17. In the mean time, nevertheless, the more permanent consolidation of the American republics, depended in a high degree on their being recognised by the European powers. Of the mother states, France and Portugal are the only ones who have hitherto recognised the independence of their old colonies, the former that of Domingo, the latter that of Brazil. On the other hand, Spain obstinately refuses any sort of compromise, and is actually making preparations in the Havanna for the purpose of recovering Mexico, the first opportunity that offers. The first and most important step however was taken by England, towards gradually recognising the independence of the Spanish

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colonies, by treating them as separate and self-existing states, an example which was soon afterwards followed by most of the other European powers.

Note of the English ministry at the suggestion of Mr. Canning, in which the approaching conclusion of commercial treaties with Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres, preparatory to recognising their independence, was signified to the diplomatic corps, Jan. 1, 1825. The recognition itself took place, with a reservation of neutrality towards Spain, provided the other European powers remained equally neutral.—A commercial treaty was concluded with Buenos Ayres, Feb. 2, with Mexico, April 6, and with Columbia, April 18, 1825.

18. The colonies of the Europeans in the West Indies underwent no other great changes, than that, having been most of them conquered by the British, they were restored at the peace with the exceptions mentioned page 348. The insurrection of Spanish America did not reach Cuba and Porto Rico; the important possession of the Havannas remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the Spanish, and the British were powerful enough to preserve tranquillity on their own and the conquered islands, towards which much was certainly contributed by the milder treatment of the slaves, after the prohibition of the slave trade.

By the compact with the Netherlands, Aug. 13, 1814, England remained in possession of the colonies of Berbice, Essequebo, and Demerara, which were in a very prosperous condition. By this arrangement, therefore, England acquired possessions on the continent of South America. French

Guiana, occupied by the Portuguese, (see p. 348,) was by the acts of the congress of Vienna, Art. 107, restored to France, according to its ancient boundaries, the river Oyapoc instead of the Arvari, to which Napoleon had extended it in the peace of 1801. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

19. A much more remarkable spectacle is exhibited to us in St. Domingo, or Hayti. After the utterly unsuccessful attempts of the French to reconquer the island, its independence was decided; and no fresh attempts will ever be undertaken. The new empire was soon divided into two states; the smaller of which, with the capital of Port au Prince, had a republican constitution under a president: the larger, with the capital Henri (Cape François) had a monarchical constitution under a king, till the overthrow of the royal throne, followed by the subjection of the Spanish part of the island, united both states into one republic, that of Hayti. The adoption of European culture and regulations, in the civil and military departments of this state of blacks, is a most striking phenomenon. It was natural that almost every thing should be shaped after French models, notwithstanding the hatred towards France; and colonisation, and with it foreign trade, seemed to make important advances by means of free labourers, who remained, however, attached to their plantations in consideration of one-fourth of the raw produce. Nothing has been heard of the piracy, which was so much dreaded.

After the retreat and capitulation of the French under the

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savage Rochambeau, who succeeded Lacroix, (see p. 208) Dec. 1803, and the declaration of independence, Jan. 1, 1804, the negro general John James Dessalines was appointed governor, May 1804; and soon after declared himself emperor of Hayti, Oct. 5. (James I.) The constitution was purely military, under a blood-thirsty tyrant, who was overthrown and murdered, Oct. 17, 1806. The general Henri Christophe was appointed by the army provisory chief of the government of Hayti. But a quarrel and war soon arose between the mulatto general Petion and the negro chief Christophe. The latter was raised to the dignity of king of Hayti, and the constitution promulgated by the council of state, April 4, 1811. *a.* The president was declared hereditary king of Hayti. *b.* Regulations respecting the *grand Conseil, Conseil privé*, the higher officer of state and the four ministers. c. Respecting the oaths, and promulgation of the laws, etc. Nothing was said of popular representation or of different chambers.—The president Petion maintained himself in his part of the island, and appointed a senate and chamber of representatives, modelled after the forms of the United States. Petion was succeeded, after his death, March 17, 1818, by Boyer. Christophe proffered an union in vain; peace however continued to exist. The territory of Christophe consisted of the northern part of the island; the territory of Petion of the southwestern part. But Christophe's cruelty armed his own soldiers against him; upon which he shot himself in despair, Oct. 8, 1820. The president Boyer afterwards succeeded in effecting an union, since which all the former French part of the island has constituted a republic under the name of Hayti. —The Spanish part also of St. Domingo declared itself independent, Nov. 30, 1821, and seemed at first desirous of uniting with Columbia; the president Boyer however came against it with a body of troops, took possession of the capital, St. Domingo, and thus succeeded in incorporating it with Hayti, Feb. 1822, since which time the whole island has been formed into one free state under the same title.—The proposals of Louis XVIII. for an union with France were useless; and

therefore, at length, under his successor, the independence of Hayti was formally recognised in the act of April 17, 1825, upon condition of a reimbursement of one hundred and fifty millions of francs to the former planters, and the award of commercial privileges to France. By the constitution of Hayti the president is invested with the executive power during his lifetime, and proposes his successor to the senate, in a sealed note to be opened after his death, when they either confirm the nomination, or appoint another, within twenty-four hours. He proposes all laws to the chambers, except those which relate to the taxes. The members of the senate are elected by the chamber of representatives, and from a threefold list submitted to them by the president; their term of office is nine years. Proposals of law are first debated in the chamber of representatives, from whence they pass to the senate, which confirms them.

The *Almanach Royal d'Hayti*, or the plan of the *Almanach Imperial*, gives the clearest insight into the organisation of the former kingdom of Hayti.

Haytian Papers; a collection of the very interesting proclamations and other official documents of the kingdom of Hayti, with a preface by PRINCE SAUNDERS, esq., agent for the Haytian government. London, 1816. Besides several proclamations, and the constitution in thirty-five articles, we find in this collection, the Law respecting the Culture, from the Code Henri, fixing the legal relations between the proprietors and farmers of the plantations, and the labourers; these relations cannot have been much altered by the union with the republic. These are very much to the advantage of the labourers; who have their legal condition, and a share in the produce, but belong to the plantations on which they dwell; and the master is obliged to provide for them in old age.—These regulations naturally proceeded from the circumstances of the place and times.

20. In Africa the colony on the Cape remained in the hands of the English, to whom it had be-

Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

longed, with a slight interruption, for twenty years, (see p. 191). Colonisation made, indeed, great progress; in the remote regions only is there land still destitute of masters; and the zeal of British and German missionaries has introduced Christianity among the wild Hottentots, and—which may be of far greater importance—among the Caffres; but the want of navigable rivers and passable roads throws insuperable obstacles in the way; and Cape-town itself, visited almost exclusively by British vessels, resembles an inn, the custom of which is diminishing. Who, besides the English and the Americans, still trade to the East Indies? And not all of them touch at the Cape.

21. The fate of the other colonies on the coasts of Africa, whether belonging to the French or to the Portuguese, was for the most part connected with the slave trade. It is reserved for experience to show, whether they can flourish, when changed from plantations into colonies, as has already been done with

Jan. 1819.

respect to Senegal after its restoration to France, by order of the king. The colony of Sierra Leone founded for this purpose (see p. 102) seems to grow slowly. But the efforts of the Europeans, to penetrate into the heart of Africa, have not ceased; and for the first time a British resident has been stationed at the court of a

1817.

negro, the king of the Ashantees on the Gold-coast. This however has not led to very im-

portant consequences, owing to the unfortunate war with that nation. In the mean time however there has been no lack of adventurous travellers to explore the interior; and through the exertions of Denham and Clapperton, the opulent kingdoms of Bornou and Haussa have begun to emerge from their obscurity, as well as the countries of the Upper Nile through those of Caillaud, Burckhardt, and Küpel. The parallel of 10° N. Lat. may now be considered as forming the extreme limit of the discoveries hitherto made in North Africa.

Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822—1824, by MAJOR DENHAM, CAPT. CLAPPERTON, and the late DR. OUDNEY. London, 1826, 4to.

Journal of a second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the late CAPT. CLAPPERTON. London, 1829, 4to.

Voyage à Meroe, au fleuve blanc, etc. fait dans les années, 1819—1822, par FREDERIC CAILLAUD. à Paris, 1826, 3 vols. 8vo.

Reise nach Nubien und Gardofan, von ED. KÜPPEL. Frankf. 1829.

22. The abolition of the slave trade is unquestionably one of the most remarkable phenomena for colonial affairs. The earnestness with which the British government has pursued this object since the acts of parliament of 1807, (see p. 206,) not only by declaring it a capital crime to participate in the traffic, but by making it a standing article in all treaties, would seem almost astonishing, did we not know

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how much it is the interest of the ministers to give no handle of calumniation to the opposition, particularly as the nation likewise appears to regard it as an affair of honour. It must be difficult to succeed in a contest, where avarice and prejudice are both to be subdued.

The powers most interested in the abolition of the slave trade are Portugal, Spain, and France. At the congress of Vienna, the principle was generally acknowledged, that the slave trade should be abolished as soon as possible; but the determination of the limit of time was reserved for separate negotiations between the eight powers: Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. In the treaties of Great Britain with the single powers, the following stipulations were agreed upon. First, in a treaty with France, May 30, 1814: *a.* No foreigner was in future to introduce slaves into the French colonies. *b.* The slave trade should be absolutely interdicted to the French themselves after June 1, 1819.—By an edict, Oct. 8, 1814, the French slave trade to the coasts of Africa was limited to the parts south of Cape Formosa (4° N. Lat.) Finally, in conformity to the second peace of Paris, Nov. 20, 1815, a total prohibition was laid on the traffic. Secondly, in a treaty with Portugal, Jan. 21 and 22, 1815: *a.* An absolute prohibition of Portuguese subjects from prosecuting the slave trade north of the equator. *b.* South of the equator it should remain free till further measures.—By a declaration, Feb. 6, this term was fixed at the expiration of eight years, (Jan. 21, 1823,) though it has been since extended to Feb. 1830. *c.* England paid three hundred thousand pounds as a remuneration to Portuguese subjects. Thirdly, in a treaty with Spain, Sept. 23, 1817: *a.* The slave trade to cease in all the Spanish possessions, May 30, 1820. *b.* No Spanish vessel was to prosecute it in future north of the equator, nor even south of it, after the fixed term. *c.* England paid, Feb. 9, 1818, four hundred thousand pounds to Spain as an in-

demnification for accidental previous losses sustained by Spanish subjects (rare magnanimity!). Fourthly, in a treaty with the Netherlands, Aug. 13, 1815; containing an entire prohibition of the Dutch from participating in the slave trade. Fifthly, in a treaty with Sweden, March 3, 1813: the same conditions. Sixthly, Denmark had preceded England in the abolition, (see p. 206,) confirmed at the peace of Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814, (see p. 338.) In England itself, after the abolition in 1807, (see p. 206,) the act of parliament of May 4, 1811, declared participation in the traffic a capital crime. In the United States of America slavery exists indeed in the southern states, inclusive of Virginia; but the importation of new slaves is prohibited. By the peace of Ghent, (see p. 363,) England and the United States mutually bound themselves to do every thing that lay in their power to abolish the slave trade. In the new republic of La Plata, it was immediately prohibited, and in the state of Columbia, July 16, 1821; the children born of slaves after that date were to be free as soon as they had attained their eighteenth year.—The slave trade still exists therefore south of the equator in the Portuguese provinces, Angola, Congo, etc. and Mozambique; and the future will teach, how far it is possible to extirpate it entirely. It has been alleged as the object of British policy to encourage the East Indies, where cotton and sugar are raised by free labourers, by causing the West Indies to decline for want of them. But, *a*. England possesses the most important of these colonies, and would therefore but inflict a wound on herself. *b*. The assumption, that these colonies will want labourers, is in all probability wholly gratuitous.

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23. In close connection with this subject stand the Missionary and Bible Societies, which have spread themselves from England over all the parts of the world. Is not the introduction of Christianity the condition, without which European civilisation in the other portions of the

Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

globe will ever be imperfect? In this too, the first steps are the most difficult; for they cannot become great and rapid, till teachers shall have been formed among the native inhabitants themselves. If this victory of Christianity, by which it is to become the prevailing religion of the world, lies in the plan of Providence,—who can calculate its consequences?

24. The history of the East Indies during this period is almost exclusively the history of the British empire there. All the possessions of the other European powers, of the Dutch, the French and the Danes, fell with but little resistance into the hands of the English; and

Dec. 1807.

Goa itself, after an amicable convention with Madeira, was taken under their protection. Of greater importance were the wars with the native princes. They eventually enlarged the territory of the company to the Indus on the one side, and the inaccessible mountains of Thibet on the other. The power of the Mahrattas was subverted indeed, but the English became in Panjab the neighbours of the Afghan or East Persian empire, as well as of Thibet, and thereby of China. That further aggrandisement is a misfortune, England is well aware; but the conqueror cannot always set his own bounds. Peace however, still continues, and a much improved system of administration, promises to afford British India some recompense for its past miseries.

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Notwithstanding the peace, concluded Dec. 30, 1803, (see p. 216,) war was begun again with Holkar, the prince of the Mahrattas, in April 1804. Rampur was conquered by gen. Wellesley, May 16, and Holkar's capital Indore, Aug. 26. On the other hand, a great loss was suffered before Bhurtpur, Jan. 11, 1805. In the peace, Dec. 24, Holkcar renounced all his claims, and agreed to hold no European in his service. Scindiah had also engaged in the war. In the peace, Nov. 22, he relinquished to the company his possessions north of the river Chumbul, which was made the boundary.* From this time tranquillity prevailed in this part of the country,—but in Nov. 1814, the war began with the rajah of Nepaul, (the border country between Oude and Thibet,) originating in disputes respecting the boundaries. The progress of this war during the year 1815 was rather unfavourable; but by the victorious advance of general Ochterlony, peace was obtained, May 4, 1816, with the cession of the contested districts, and of the mountainous passes. But a new war with the Mahrattas was to decide the fate of this nation, 1817. The invasions of the Pindarrees, (nomadic hordes of cavalry from the north of the peninsula,) who increased into an army, soon showed that they were in understanding with the chiefs of the Mahrattas, the Peishwa Bajee Row in Poonah, Scindiah, the rajah of Nagpur, (the Bunsla,) as well as Holkar and Amer Khan in Malpa. By the combined operations of the governor-general Hastings (Lord Moira) the single nations were overpowered before they could form a junction, and the Pindarrees were annihilated. The regions between the Sinde and Chumbul (branches of the Jumna) were the principal theatre of the war. Consequences: *a.* The Peishwa, defeated Nov. 5, 17, 1817, was deposed and made captive. *b.* The rajah of Nagpur was compelled to surrender at discretion, Nov. 26, and having been convicted of a new conspiracy, met with the same fate. *c.* Having been defeated on Dec. 21, Holkar was compelled to cede two-thirds of his territory, which was divided between some small allied rajahs and the company. *d.* Scindiah was entirely isolated, and too weak to support him-

Colonial affairs. 1801-1830.

self. *e.* Amer Khan was rendered defenceless by the dissolution of his army and the loss of all his artillery, Nov. 5. "Thus the Indus became in truth the boundary of the British dominion. Between that river and Calcutta there are nothing but small states, either attached to the English, or too weak to raise a single standard against them. The power of the Mahrattas is broken for ever."—*Answer of the governor-general,* MARQUIS HASTINGS, to the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on his return; a very valuable document.

An account of the kingdom of Nepaul, by COL. KIRKPATRICK, with a map. London, 1811. The author himself had already been sent thither as ambassador, in 1793, and his work contains the best description we have of that country.

25. The wars in Europe also enlarged the territory of the British in the East Indies. They acquired the important Isle of France, (p. 348,) by which their Indian navigation would be protected in future maritime wars. From the Dutch they obtained Cochin on the Malabar coast, in consideration of the island of Banca, abounding in tin, and acquired by them during the possession of Batavia. The Dutch possessions on Ceylon, already ceded, led to the conquest of the island and overthrow of the king of Candy; but it was easier to make, than to retain the conquest.

After the cession of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, at the peace of Amiens, 1802, a fruitless attempt was made in 1803 to conquer Candy. It was accomplished by a connection with the native governor, 1815. After the seizure of the capital, the rajah was made prisoner, dethroned, and transported to Madras, Jan. 24, 1816. Is there in the East Indies a different international law to be observed to-

wards rightful monarchs from what exists in England? The insurrection, which soon broke out, took ample revenge for this deed of violence; but it was the cause of great suffering to the island. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

Account of the interior of Ceylon, by J. DAVY. London, 1821. The author was on the island from 1816 to 1820, and his work supplies some very important information relative to the antiquities and religious state of the island, where the worship of Buddha still prevails.

26. Notwithstanding the enlargement of the territory of the company, no alterations took place in its political constitution; the regulations introduced by Pitt (p. 113) still continued in force. But of so much the greater importance were the changes made in its commercial privileges, when the charter of the company was renewed in 1814. The clamours, so often raised against the monopoly of the company, were at last successful, and obtained a partial restriction of it. The company preserved their exclusive trade to China, but not to the East Indies proper. The latter might be carried on by private individuals, with all the harbours of the company, not only from the port of London but from others at the discretion of the government, and in their own vessels. The future must show, whether these regulations will be followed by all the advantages that were anticipated. Hitherto, the trade of the company does not seem to have suffered.

The charter was renewed, April 10, 1814, for twenty years. 1. The monopoly of the company was limited to China. 2.

Colonial affairs. 1604-1830.

The other trade was made free to all English subjects, in ships not under three hundred and fifty tons, subjected however to certain formalities. 3. In doubtful cases, the decision was to rest with the Board of Control, (see p. 113). 4. Certain regulations respecting the application of the territorial revenues for defraying the expenses: *a.* of the administration and the army; *b.* of the civil and commercial establishments; *c.* the surplus to be expended on objects assigned by the Court of Directors with the approbation of the Board of Control. 5. Regulations respecting the application of the profit accruing from trade: *a.* to the payment of accepted bills of exchange; *b.* to the interest of the debt, and costs of commerce; *c.* to a yearly dividend of ten per cent.; *d.* to the reduction of the capital debt in India and England, till the former should be diminished to ten, the latter to three million pounds sterling. The overplus was to be at the disposal of parliament. 6. The governor-general, governors, and commanders-in-chief were to be chosen by the Court of Directors, subject however, to the approval of his Majesty. 7. A bishop and three deacons were to be chosen to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs in India.

The History of the European Commerce with India, to which is subjoined a review of the arguments for and against the trade with India, and the management of it by a chartered Company. By DAVID MACPHERSON. London, 1812. This very instructive history is written to prove, that the entire monopoly of the company must continue. We here find the arguments on both sides most copiously detailed.

27. The British dominion, however, in the East Indies, was to receive a still further increase, by being brought into contact with the opposite peninsula beyond the Ganges. In the Birmese war, the English found a powerful opponent, with whom, as long as any feeling of jealousy existed, it was impossible to reckon

upon the continuance of amicable relations. The cessions of territory and other advantages, which they obtained at the peace, can hardly cover the expenses of the war, to say nothing of the cost of maintaining their additional conquests. What advantages indeed will accrue to their commerce from particular establishments on the coast of Siam, remains to be shown.

The Birmese war was occasioned by disputes relative to the island of Cheduba on the coast of Arracan. Declaration of war by the English, March 5, 1824. Conquest of Arracan, April 1825. Capture of Rangoon, and afterwards of Prome, April 25. Further advance of the British along the Irawaddi, and conclusion of peace at Yandabu, Feb. 24, 1826. Conditions: *a*. Cession of the four provinces of Arracan, Mergui, Tavoy, and Tenasserim on the coast of Siam. *b*. A British resident in Assam. *c*. Payment of one crore of rupees, (upwards of £.1,500,000 sterling) and mutual exemption from commercial duties.

The increased security of Bengal and Calcutta, owing to the possession of Arracan, would seem at first sight to be almost the only advantages obtained by this war.

28. Though at the peace of Paris, the East India possessions of the French, as well as of the Danes and Dutch, were restored, with the exceptions mentioned above, (p. 348,) the Dutch alone deserve to be noticed. After the dissolution of the East India company, they became the property of the state, which, after its transmutation into a kingdom, sent over to Batavia a marshal as governor-general, with dictatorial power over all Dutch India, who introduced an

Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

almost military rule, and an organisation entirely new. But soon after, the British made themselves, for the first time, masters of Batavia, having conquered it from Bengal. During their five years' possession, so wise and mild an administration was exercised, that after the restoration, it seems to have been difficult for the natives and Europeans to accustom themselves again to Dutch dominion. During the short time it was in possession of Britain, a clearer light was shed over this remarkable island, than was done during the two whole centuries of the dominion of Holland.

The administration of marshal Daendels lasted from Jan. 14, 1808, to May 16, 1811. His principal exertions, with respect to the produce, were to encourage the cultivation of coffee, (upwards of forty-seven million trees having been planted, according to his own account;) but this was attended with the greatest oppression of the natives. The English were in possession from Sept. 11, 1811, to Aug. 19, 1816.

DAENDEL'S *Staat der Nederlandschen Oostindischen Bezittingen in den Jaaren* 1808—1811. S'Gravenhaage, 1814. With a collection of documents as an appendix, in 4 vols. The sketch of the condition of the country at the beginning of his administration, shows that Hoogendorp had not exaggerated. The causes of decline are those we have mentioned above.

The History of Java, by THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, esq. late lieut.-governor of that island and its dependencies; in 2 vols. London, 1817, 4to. In every respect the leading work respecting Java, and abounding in new disclosures relative to Indian antiquities.

Nederlandsche Bezittingen in Azia, Africa, en America, in derzelven Toestand en Aangelendheit voor dit Ryk, wysgeerig,

staatshuishondkundig en geographisch beschreven, door J. VAN DEN BOSCH, general-major, etc. Amsterdam, 1818, 4to. A justification of the early Dutch administration. Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

29. For the continent of Australia, also, new and pleasing projects were unfolded. The British settlements in New South Wales and Van Dieman's land prospered, because the number of free labourers increased; in a few years the population had doubled; and important returning cargoes, especially of wool, compensated for the expenditures of the mother country. A lively trade was carried on with India and the remotest regions of the world. The chain of mountains in the rear of the colony, before deemed inaccessible, were surmounted, and a road constructed over them. Spacious and fertile, but thinly inhabited plains, intersected by rivers, invited the agriculturalist; and the lately-founded town of Bathurst is to be the starting point for explorers of the interior of this surprising country. On the Society islands (see p. 221) Christianity is victorious; the Sandwich islands resemble a British settlement; and the New Zealanders, carrying on an increasing traffic with New South Wales, have begun to eat potatoes instead of human flesh. All these are the elements of a new order of things; the elements of one grand, universal, political system, growing out of the narrow colonial system of Europe.

Colonial affairs. 1804-1830.

The History of New South Wales, by O'HARA. London, 1817. Comes down to 1816.

A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, and its dependent settlements in Van Dieman's Land, by W. C. WENTWORTH, a native of the colony. London, 1820. The leading work, in respect of statistics.

The Sydney Gazette. The number of inhabitants in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, has increased within six years from 12,000 to 25,000: half of whom are free agriculturalists. The population already exceeds 40,000, and is continually on the increase.

THIRD SECTION.

Restoration of the political system of Europe.

J. L. KLÜBER, *Acten des Wiener Congresses.* 1815, 8vo. Bisher sieben Bände. A highly meritorious collection.

J. L. KLÜBER, *Uebersicht der diplomatischen Verhandlungen des Wiener Congresses überhaupt, und insonderheit über wichtige Angelegenheiten des Deutschen Bundes.* 1816, in zwei Abtheilungen.

SCHOELL, *Histoire abregée*, (see p. 262,) vol. x.—xii.—The eleventh volume principally, according to Klüber, contains the history of the congress of Vienna.

The following section naturally contains the results, not only of the congress of Vienna, so far as they relate to the political system of Europe, but also of the previous and subsequent negotiations of Paris; arranged not according to time but matter.

1. The restoration of the dismembered political system of Europe was the greatest, and—if successful—would prove the most glorious office

that statesmen were ever called upon to discharge. But the policy of statesmen was of itself unable to solve this problem; how could they have conciliated the many clashing interests? Nothing but the pure will of the monarchs was able to effect it; and whence should this will proceed, but from their personal sentiments, and the great experience they had just acquired? Their work itself must constitute their eulogium; but it is impossible to delineate it, except from this point of view. No less, indeed, depended, at the same time, on the views and sentiments of the ministers to whom the execution was entrusted. Different as their characters were, they were at least practical statesmen; and this afforded a security against the danger, that a structure would be reared which could have existed only in theory.

Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

With regard to the leading characters who attended the congress of Vienna, and were particularly active both before and after the negotiations at Paris, see p. 351.

2. But that the powerful, and even the most powerful on earth, are always subject to the influence of the prevailing ideas of the age, has seldom been more strongly illustrated than in the present case. That princes and nations do not exist to make war on each other, unless forced by necessity; that states, in forming a free political system, must mutually respect each other's independence; that the constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion

Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

in the legislation, especially in taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils, which must be abolished; that a legitimate share of freedom should be allowed to the communication of ideas by means of the pen and press; finally, and above all, that there is a connection between religion, policy, and morality, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree—these were maxims either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowledged. And the influence which the forms of social life have on political transactions, was manifested in the most beneficial way. Nothing was heard of that altercation respecting rank, which a century before had so clogged the proceedings at Utrecht; and the most powerful monarchs were daily seen moving among the citizens in the dress of private men.

3. Favourable, however, as these circumstances were, every intelligent person could plainly foresee that there would be no want of obstacles; and that the edifice to be reared would bear little resemblance to the ideal structures that so many had formed. The criterion, by which every proposition had to be measured, was not what was abstractly possible, but what was possible under the given circumstances and relations; and though this criterion itself involved certain imperfections and deficiencies, can this surprise the experienced?

4. The restoration of the political system of Europe was in general founded on the principle of legitimacy[a]; the legitimate dynasties, that had been more or less dispossessed, were to be reinstated. The restoration necessarily embraced the single parts as well as the whole. With regard to the single parts, their territorial extent as well as their constitution would naturally be taken into consideration; this last, however, was left to the discretion of the particular state itself. But the popular opinion, confirmed not only by theorists, but principally by the example of Great Britain, had declared itself so loudly in favour of constitutional monarchy, that this form of government became prevalent, if not universal, throughout Europe. After the disappearance of all the larger republics, Switzerland alone excepted, the European political system acquired more than ever a monarchical character, without, however, sustaining any in-

Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

[a] Legitimacy is necessarily founded on the right of succession, regulated by primogeniture, which alone confers a lawful claim. Thus our European princes are legitimate rulers, not because they happen to be in possession of power, for this would apply with equal force to an usurper, but because they are so in point of law, owing to their right of succession. A primogenital right, however, it is obvious, can only exist in connection with monogamy, as in such case there cannot possibly be more than one lawful competitor to the throne, the very reverse of which must of course obtain under a system of polygamy. It is for this reason that in speaking of oriental governments we can never apply the term 'legitimate' in the European sense of the word. The princes of the east possess their thrones either by mere chance, or the capricious will of their predecessors, and not at all because they have any personal right to them; a fact of which the history of the world has furnished abundant proofs at all times.

Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

fraction of political liberty; and as elective kingdoms had happily disappeared from it at the same time, it also obtained, together with legitimacy, a greater share of general stability. The conflict of parties, that universal symptom of freedom, reaches not the rulers, but only the responsible ministers. It were well had there been an unanimity of opinion respecting the nature of that form of government; but painful experience was soon to prove how much was wanting to it.

The superiority of a constitutional monarchy (with a representative assembly, the proceedings of which are public) over an autocratic monarchy (where both are wanting) is not founded on the fact, that the former is always better governed; (for even autocracies are not unfrequently very well governed;) but on the greater or less value which is placed in the political improvement of the nation and its consequences. This improvement can proceed from nothing but an actual participation in their own concerns: and it is therefore to be hoped that the diffusion of constitutional forms of government will have a beneficial influence on Europe, provided the restrictions which the nature of monarchy demands are properly observed. Experience must show how far each people is ripe for this liberty; the character is, in this case, more decisive than the spirit. It takes time to learn—how to become accustomed to liberty. And let him who expects immediately to find in a new chamber a Pitt or a Fox, only turn over the annals of Great Britain itself, as far back as the times of the Long Parliament.

See HEEREN's essay: *Ueber den Einfluss der politischen Theorieen, und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neueren Europa.* Historische Werke, B. i. p. 365 sq. The second lately-annexed part of the essay describes the ne-

cessary conditions of a constitutional monarchy, (provided the states of Europe do not degenerate into mock-monarchies and mock-republics,) and that not in wavering positions and half-assertions, but according to the particular views of the author, in a clear and explicit manner. It is in fact his political confession of faith. Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

5. There was scarcely a state of Europe, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state. Nothing but the limitation of France to its ancient boundaries by the treaties of Paris, in consequence of which so many important countries on that side of the Rhine and the Alps were placed at the disposal of the allies, could render adjustment or restoration possible. But a complete restoration could not be effected without greater injustice than before. The number of souls and square miles, besides the amount of revenues, was generally taken as the criterion of adjustment; and not wholly without reason; but was it not too frequently taken as the sole criterion? It was also impossible to establish a general epoch. This difficulty was avoided by adopting a different one for each of the three leading powers; with France it preceded 1792; with Austria it was the year 1805, though with some variations; and with Prussia the statistical measure of 1806 was adopted. All further questions, with these as well as the smaller states, were to be settled by cessions.

6. From Germany, the central state of Europe, must begin our survey of each of the states.

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That with its fate is closely united the fate of Europe itself, modern history has too forcibly inculcated, to need any further demonstration. But what an aspect did Germany exhibit at the moment of its emancipation. For ten years it had ceased to be a state. On all sides, its boundaries were circumscribed. The left bank of the Rhine, Holstein, and the Illyrian provinces had been detached from it. In the interior, the rights of possession were almost every where altered and uncertain. The Prussian monarchy had been dismembered; Austria deprived of a great portion of its oldest hereditary provinces; Saxony, with several smaller countries, placed under administration; and the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. How much was requisite to restore order to this chaos!

7. If they were to exist at all, the necessity of forming the German states into a political union, as far as this was possible, was evident to the unprejudiced observer. It was loudly demanded by the public voice, and never was the national spirit of Germany so much excited. But how far was it possible? Not a thought could be entertained of a transformation into one state—which would have been the grave of German improvement and European freedom—nothing more could be designed, than a union of the existing states of Germany. This idea was already proposed in the first peace of Paris, and at the congress of Vienna, the question of

its feasibility was discussed. All hopes of its ultimate execution were just on the point of being given up, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, stepped in to its assistance; and owing to a pressure of other favourable circumstances, the act of the German confederation was at length brought to a conclusion. By it the sovereign princes of Germany and the free cities formed themselves into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. A permanent bond was to encircle the German states; and though it was drawn less tightly than was expected by the nation, and less so than was desired by some of the most powerful parties concerned in framing it, it was, nevertheless, a bond; and the hope at least remained, that time would render it more compact, when the necessity should be felt.

The first preliminary declaration of a Germanic confederation was contained in the peace of Paris, 1814, Art. 6. "The states of Germany shall be independent, and united by a federative league." (Therefore no longer a German empire, under an imperial sovereign.) A German commission was established at the congress of Vienna, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wirtemberg. But thirteen sessions, Oct. 14 to Nov. 16, furnished the melancholy result, that no agreement could be hoped for, while Bavaria and Wirtemberg presented so many objections. And besides, the other German states and free cities entered into a counter-alliance, in order to oppose the right of the commission to settle any thing without their

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assent. A general deliberation was first held in May and June, (yet Wirtemberg and Baden acceded at a later period,) and the act of confederation was signed, June 8, 1815. The parties to this act were:—1. Austria. 2. Prussia (both for the countries which formerly belonged to the German empire, with the inclusion of Silesia). 3. Bavaria. 4. Saxony. 5. Hanover. 6. Wirtemberg. 7. Baden. 8. Electorate of Hesse. 9. Grand duchy of Hesse. 10. Denmark, on account of Holstein. 11. The Netherlands, on account of Luxemburg. 12. Brunswick. 13. Mecklenburg Schwerin. 14. Nassau. 15. Saxe Weimar. 16. Saxe Gotha. 17. Saxe Coburg. 18. Saxe Meiningen. 19. Saxe Hildburghausen. 20. Mecklenburg-Strelitz. 21. Holstein-Oldenburg. 22. Anhalt-Dessau. 23. Anhalt-Bernburg. 24. Anhalt-Kothen. 25. Schwartzburg-Sondershausen. 26. Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt. 27. Hohenzollern-Hechingen. 28. Lichtenstein. 29. Hohengollen-Siegmaringen. 30. Waldeck. 31. Reuss, elder line. 32. Reuss, younger line. 33. Schaumburg-Lippe. 34. Lippe-Detmold. To these were afterwards added, 35. Hesse-Homburg. And the four free cities. 36. Lubeck. 37. Frankfort. 38. Bremen. And, 39. Hamburg. Principal points. I. General: 1. All the parties, convinced of the advantages of their connection for the maintenance of the tranquillity and the balance of Europe, unite themselves in one league, to be called the German Confederation. 2. Its object is, the maintenance of the internal and external security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of each of the German states. 3. All the members of the confederation have, as members, equal rights; and all bind themselves equally to keep the act of confederation inviolable. 4. The concerns of the confederation are to be managed by a federative diet, to have, in all, seventeen voices. 5. Austria shall preside in the sessions of the diet. Every member is authorised to make propositions, which the president will submit for deliberation. 6. In bringing forward or altering any of the fundamental laws, or organic regulations of the confederation, the assembly will form itself into

a *plenum* of sixty-nine votes, according to future distribution. 7. In the *plenum* as well as in the smaller diet, the majority of votes is to decide; in the latter the absolute majority alone is requisite; in the former two-thirds. But when there is a question, that concerns the adoption or alteration of the fundamental laws, the organic regulations of the confederation, the *jura singulorum* or affairs of religion, no resolution can be made, by a majority of votes. 8. Regulations respecting the order of voting. 9. The confederative diet is to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. 10. Sketching of the fundamental laws. 11. All the members promise to defend the whole of Germany, as well as each particular state of the confederation against every attack, and mutually guarantee all the possessions of each other included in the confederation. In a war of the confederation, there are to be no partial negotiations, or truce, or peace. The members of the confederation, however, reserve to themselves the right of making alliances of every kind, but at the same time engage not to enter into any connection, which should militate against the safety of the confederation or that of the single states. They engage neither to make war upon each other, on any pretence whatever, or to enforce their claims with violence, but to bring them before the federative diet, and submit to the decision of a commission, or of an impartial court of reference. II. Particular points: 12. The erection of supreme courts of judicature. 13. A representative constitution to be adopted in all the federate states. 14. Regulations respecting the relations of princes who had been formerly independent, but are so no longer. 15. Respecting the pensions of the former members of the foundations, and of the Teutonic Order. 16. Respecting debts and pensions. 17. Equality of civil and political rights for all denominations of christians. 18. Regulations respecting the post in favour of the house of Thurn and Taxis. 19. General rights of the subjects of the states of the Germanic confederation. *a.* The power of possessing landed property in other states, without any extra taxes. *b.* The right of free removal, of entering into service, exemption from all subsequent

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taxes; and the future adoption of similar arrangements respecting the liberty of the press and the rights of authors and publishers.

The constitution of the Germanic confederation first acquired its perfection by the ministerial conferences holden at Vienna, Dec. 1819—May 1820, a supplementary act of sixty-five articles having been added, May 15, 1820. The principal points fixed by it, respected *a.* the efficiency and competency of the diet. *b.* The cases, where the inferior diet is sufficient, or a *plenum* is necessary. *c.* Adjustment of the differences between the members of the confederation. *d.* The execution of the resolutions of the confederation. *e.* The relations with foreign states, and resolution respecting war and peace, etc.

8. What under the existing circumstances and relations it was possible to effect, must here also have determined the particular line of conduct. An union of states, with a federal government, like that of North America, could have been expected by those only, who assumed, that the princes of Germany would relinquish their thrones. How much is gained, and how much is wanting, is evident. The maintenance of the internal tranquillity and peace of Germany, as well as its independence with respect to other countries, the formation of free constitutions, the equality of the weakest and the most powerful members, (an event unparalleled in history,) was explicitly proposed; and has hitherto been pursued by no one more conscientiously, than by the most powerful. What is still wanting may be supplied, if the Germans are willing to supply it, not by forms, but by the love of their common

country. The princes, on the one hand, should recollect, that as being partners in the confederation, they should not refuse to submit to the consideration of the diet such affairs as actually fall within its cognisance; and, on the other, the mass of the people, who are always depreciating the present good, and therefore speak only of the deficiencies of the confederation, should know, that they themselves are its most dangerous enemies. The voice of the nation must support and exalt it. The cabinets alone are unable to do so, even if they wished it, unless they are seconded by the public voice and the popular sympathy. To be the pacific state of Europe is its high destination; can there be a more glorious one, provided it fulfils it? The diet was opened at Frankfort, Nov. 5, 1816.

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Der Deutsche Bund in seinen Verhältnissen zu dem Europäischen Staatensystem; bey Eroffnung des Bundestags dargestellt, von A. H. L. HEEREN. 1816. With a postscript in: *Vermischte historische Schriften*, B. ii. p. 452 sqq.

9. The territorial arrangements in Germany were most closely connected with the restoration of the two greater German monarchies. But the restoration of these monarchies was the affair, not of Germany only, but of all Europe, and as such, indeed, it was treated. The five leading powers, which had concluded the peace of Paris, viz. Austria, Prussia, England, Russia, and France, formed at the congress a closer union, for the affairs of Europe, under the presi-

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dency of prince Metternich: into this union, the three other powers were drawn in single cases, viz. Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. These eight powers, therefore, were those who signed the acts of the congress of Vienna.

For the names of the ambassadors, see p. 351.

10. The restoration of the Austrian monarchy was effected for the most part by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces, but in part by the return of the cessions to Bavaria. In consequence of this, the Austrian monarchy became a geographical whole,—with twenty-eight million inhabitants, of which nine and a half belonged to the German confederation; the rest were Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians, and Poles. This monarchy thus resumed its ancient character, that of a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution. To respect these therefore will be the true wisdom of the rulers.

By the congress of Vienna, Austria acquired, 1. In Italy, all the countries situated between the Tessino, Po, and Adriatic sea, with the Veltelin and Chiavenna, the part of Mantua south of the Po, and the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara. They were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. (And moreover, the family acquired the three *secundogenitures*, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma and Piacenza.) 2. The Illyrian provinces, ceded at the peace of Vienna, (p. 299,) and immediately after elevated into the kingdom of Illyria. 3. What was formerly Venetian Dalmatia, with the republic Ragusa and the islands, as far as

the gulf of Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, June 3, 1814, and April 14, 1816, (in consideration of some other indemnification,) Tyrol and Vorarlberg, (with the exception of the district Weiler,) Salzburg as far as the Salza; the portions of the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, which were ceded by Austria in 1809. 5. From Russia, the district ceded in East Gallicia, (p. 299.)

11. The restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to the statistical relations of 1805 was recognised by all, and especially by Austria, as essentially necessary. Who could doubt it? Who after such sacrifices, would refuse it to Prussia? But the restoration was necessarily exposed to greater difficulties, because this country had been much more dismembered; and every thing could not be restored to the footing of 1805. Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, by reason of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria; Cleves and Berg, however, were substituted in their stead. But the greatest difficulties were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw.—The curse of the Polish partitions still lay heavily on Europe. Prussia, attaching itself to Russia, demanded for its sacrifices in Poland, all Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. Austria, England, and particularly France, advocated the cause of the Saxon house. Scarcely any mention was made of the Saxon people. There were moments indeed, when, from less pacific princes, extremities might have been apprehended. An intermediate course was at

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length discovered by policy; the country which had suffered for Germany was divided! and a part also of the duchy of Warsaw was allotted to Prussia. The most perplexing knot was therefore untied, or at least cut; and nothing further could create difficulties of importance. Thus with about ten million inhabitants, and a territory divided into two great portions, Prussia came again into the number of the first powers, the territory and population of each of which generally amounted to thrice as much. If it wishes to hold its station, its spirit must supply what is wanting in mass. That it can do so, it has already proved; for with ten millions Prussia fell, and with five it recovered itself. It is well for Europe, that it has such a state in its centre.

By the peace of Tilsit, Prussia lost about half of its territory and population. It recovered what it then resigned, but renounced its claims to the greater part of South Prussia and New East Prussia, which were assigned to Russia; Anspach, and Baireuth, which were retained by Bavaria; Hildesheim and East Friesland, and a portion of Lingen and Eichsfeld, which were allotted to Hanover. For its lost provinces, it claimed an indemnification, which it acquired in a part of South Prussia, (duchy of Posen,) almost half the kingdom of Saxony (ceded by the act of May 18, 1815;) Swedish Pomerania, Cleves, Berg, Ahremberg and other portions of Westphalia, and the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine to the Saar, by which Germany obtained, at the same time, a bulwark in that quarter. Of the ten provinces of the monarchy, seven, Brandenberg, Pomerania, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, Cleves and Berg, and the Lower

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Rhine, with almost eight million inhabitants, belonged to the Germanic confederation; the three others, East and West Prussia with Posen, did not. A constitutional form of government was to take the place of an autocracy; but the organisation of the administration was suffered to precede the organisation of the constitution, which could not be unattended with great difficulties in so divided a state.

For the history of the negotiations respecting Saxony, besides the works quoted page 400, we refer the reader to the essay in the first volume of the *Minerva*, 1817, with the documents. And the work entitled: *Wie wurden wir was wir sind? Von einem Sachsen*, 1815.

12. In the territorial adjustment of the other great states of Germany, 1. Bavaria acquired, in remuneration for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine; Wurzburg; Aschaffenburg; and some portions of Fulda. Its further claims on Baden for the circle of the Maine and Tauber, and the escheatage of the circle of the Neckar, remained unsatisfied. 2. Wirtemberg, and 3. Baden, remained unaltered. 4. Hanover was elevated to the rank of a kingdom; and received from Prussia, Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, and a part of Eichsfeld, together with some districts from the elector of Hesse; but in return it ceded to Prussia, Lauenburg beyond the Elbe, (exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania and Rugen, formerly obtained from Sweden, p. 338,) together with some other districts. The territorial adjustment of the smaller states, will be found in the acts of the congress of Vi-

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enna. The introduction of representative constitutions (promised by Art. 13) has already been accomplished in Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hanover, Baden, the grand duchy of Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, Mecklenburg, Saxe Weimar, etc.; in Saxony, however, as well as the electorate of Hesse, the old forms still exist; in the others the representative system is expected to take place.

The constitutions of the German states, notwithstanding many modifications in respect both of the organisation, and the greater or less publicity of their transactions, have hitherto coincided in the following points: *a.* The monarchical principle has every where been upheld, in the mode of conferring constitutions by the rulers, and by a just determination of their rights in relation to the states. *b.* The assembly of the states consists of two chambers. *c.* To these is allotted their proper part in the legislation, especially with regard to taxation.

Exposé du droit public de l'Allemagne, par E. H. DE S. (Schwartzkopf.) Paris et Geneve, 1821. Written chiefly for foreigners.

13. The restoration of the state of the Netherlands was one of the principal points in the restoration of the political system of Europe. History has shown how intimately the fate of the latter was connected with that of the Belgic, no less than the Batavian, provinces, since Belgium in the hands of France first opened the avenue to universal dominion. It was considered necessary to found there a powerful state, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should

be strong enough to defend itself; and the union of all the Netherlands into one kingdom was resolved on at Vienna. The sovereign prince adopted in consequence the royal title, and the house of Orange, governing the same provinces which had belonged to the house of Hapsburg, gave them a free constitution instead of the tyrannical despotism of Philip. The necessity of a fixed boundary was likewise perceived and provided for. Though two nations, differing in origin, language (as they had done for two thousand years before) and religion, could not be immediately amalgamated; and though it was not possible to open at the same time to the commerce and manufactures of both, the market they desired, the foundation was, nevertheless, laid of a permanent union; and the wisdom of the house of Orange must accomplish the rest.

According to the treaty of Vienna, May 31, 1815, the constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were: all the Batavian and Belgic provinces with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces, besides the separate grand duchy of Luxemberg, belonging to the Germanic Confederation. Constitution: inheritance of the throne secured to the house of Orange. The king invested with full executive powers and the right of first proposing laws; but the chambers may make propositions. At the side of the king, a council of state, of his own appointment. A legislative body, the states-general, in two chambers. The first consisting of from forty to sixty members appointed for life by the king. The second of one hundred and ten members elected by the states of the provinces. These in each province are composed of the

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knighthood, cities, and deputies from the county. Freedom of worship, and political equality of religious denominations.—The boundaries to be strengthened by a chain of fortifications, built at the cost of England in return for the cession of the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. (Convention, Aug. 13, 1814.)—The restored colonies, dependent on the king, are: Surinam, Curaçao, and St. Eustache with St. Martin; Batavia with Banca, Malacca and the Moluccas with its dependencies, (see p. 384,) subsequently extended by the overthrow of the sultan of Palembang on Sumatra, in 1820, after previous fruitless attempts.

14. The state of Great Britain, emerging uninjured from the storms of the times, needed no restoration either of its territory or its constitution. The maxims of Pitt were maintained and had been triumphant; the erection of the regency had produced no alteration; and the accession of the king as little. Its influence on the civilisation of the world, contributed still more than the splendour of its victories and its political influence to the glory of Great Britain. It was the source of the spirit of free constitutions. The constitution was the model—not for the blind imitation, but for the instruction of others. Its influence and earnest purpose prohibited the slave trade; and by its institutions, the light of Christianity, the vehicle of European civilisation, was diffused throughout every part of the world. A new method of popular instruction, (useful so long as it keeps within these limits,) already no less diffused, had its origin there, almost contemporarily with

Jan. 10. 1811.

the discovery of vaccination, which seems to do more than compensate for the carnage of war. And will not the great progress of manufactures, which was previously able to repress, in part, the manufacturing industry of other countries, like every advancement of the human mind, ultimately have, on the whole, a beneficial operation? When the art of printing began to prosper, the trade of copyists and the art of calligraphy declined. But should a prohibition therefore have been laid on the press?

The aggrandisements of the British state were confined in Europe to Malta and Heligoland. In the colonies, they embraced, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Surinam, in the West Indies; in Africa, the Cape; in the East Indies, the Isle of France, Cochin, and the conquests obtained from the Mahrattas (see pages 348, 392.)

After the dissolution of the ministry of Grenville and Fox, March 26, 1807, the British ministry had been composed, with the change of single offices, of friends and disciples of Pitt. Lord Liverpool, Hawkesbury, Canning, Percival, Castlereagh, Vansittart, etc. all belong to this class. After the murder of the first lord of the Treasury, Spencer Percival, May 11, 1812, lord Liverpool succeeded to his place, which he retained, in conjunction with lord Castlereagh as secretary of state for foreign affairs, till the melancholy death of the latter, Aug. 12, 1822, when Mr. Canning came into office, Sept. 16, and, upon lord Liverpool's retiring, was made premier, April 12.

15. Upon the introduction of Mr. Canning to the British cabinet, and particularly after his elevation to the rank of prime minister, several regulations took place, which were considered as

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so many proofs of the liberal spirit of domestic, as well as foreign policy. In consequence of an alteration made in the department of customs, the strictness of the importation laws, which had been hitherto conformable to the principles of the mercantile system, was considerably softened. The recognition of the new American free states, (see p. 384,) the active interest taken in the affairs of the east, in order to please the Greeks, was all the work of Canning. His projected reform of the corn laws, however, brought him into a conflict with the great landed proprietors in parliament, and occasioned the hatred and persecution of the opposite party; though his genius and eloquence did not the less powerfully operate upon the character of the times. It had now become evident enough, that all things could not remain for ever as they had done.

Convention with Russia and France for the purpose of settling the affairs of Greece, by the Protocol of July 6, 1827. A corn-bill brought into the lower house, June 18; but defeated in the upper, through the influence of the duke of Wellington. Death of Canning, Aug. 8, 1827.

16. The most important change in the domestic policy of England was occasioned by the so called Emancipation of the Catholics, and consequent tranquilisation[a] of Ireland, by which

[a] [Had the author made use of the term "distraction," it would, at least, as correctly represent the immediate consequences of this questionable measure.—TRANS.]

the duke of Wellington, as premier, in conjunction with sir Robert Peel, has immortalised his ministry. In consequence of this measure, the Romanists were admitted into parliament; and, with some few exceptions, to the offices of state, from both of which they had previously been excluded. The future will show how far they are satisfied with these concessions. Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

The duke of Wellington appointed prime minister, Jan. 25, 1828. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, occasioned by O'Connell's being elected in Ireland as a member of parliament, passed the lower house, March 31, and was accepted by the lords, April 13, 1829.

17. The restoration of the French state was the condition of the restoration of Europe. That it was necessary for France herself, as a member of this political system, to be great and powerful, the allies themselves had loudly proclaimed in the midst of their victories. Ever since her restriction to her former boundaries, her situation, her extent, her population, and the spirit of her inhabitants, render her the most powerful state of Europe. Her boundaries were determined by the treaties; her constitution was left to herself. A difficult task! But Providence gave France, at this moment, the greatest blessing it could confer, a prudent man for a king, and at his side, a counsellor like Richelieu. From England he brought his people the most valuable of gifts, that of a free constitution. It is now for the nation to show, that they can bear freedom.

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Their history may excite apprehension; but if the French can bear it, what a future is opened to France? She no longer has an enemy in Europe, unless she is resolved to have one. The culture of her fertile soil is her chief source of acquisition; yet her manufacturing industry is not palsied. Her free colonies no longer excite jealousy, and yet secure to her a share in the commerce of the world. But with a free constitution, she has still an autocratic administration. Can these exist together; and will not the change of the latter be more difficult than that of the former?

The constitution framed by the conservative senate before the arrival of the king, in which the senate had taken the best care of its own interests, was rejected by the king; but on the other hand, a constitution was proffered by him, and accepted by the senate (which was abolished) and the chamber of deputies.

The present constitution, given by the *Charte*, has much in common with the British, but not every thing. A constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, and the source of legislation; responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies. But the king has the exclusive power of proposing laws; the inheritance of the peerages is connected with primogeniture; and the ministers have, as such, a seat, and the power of speaking in the chambers. The law of election and the law of age (thirty years being requisite for a peer, and forty for a deputy) must be the main supports of this constitution. But after so many scenes in the chambers, the latter law seems to be hardly adequate to the attainment of its object. And in the former, it has been found necessary to make repeated alterations, which are still insufficient, to secure a preponderance to

the ministers. But that no ministry can exist in this country, while the press is perfectly free, the advocates of the freedom of the press themselves are well aware. In repeated cases, nevertheless, only a temporary censorship was accorded, which, finally had to make way for a stricter regulation.—Of its colonies, France has recovered, in the West Indies, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes, together with its part of St. Martin and Cayenne; in Africa, Senegal and Gorée; in the East Indies, the Isle of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore. (See p. 348.)

18. The restoration of the Swiss confederacy was zealously pursued at the congress of Vienna, in a special committee, appointed by the five leading powers. The result was, the territorial aggrandisement of the confederacy by three cantons, and the acknowledgment of its perpetual neutrality. What an advantage for France, covering, as it does, its unprotected part! The restoration of its constitution, after the abrogation of the act of mediation, was relinquished to the cantons themselves.

By the declaration of the powers, March 20, 1815, the acquiescence of the confederacy being declared, March 29, the separated cantons Valais and Neufchatel, and the territory of Geneva, somewhat enlarged at the expense of France and Savoy, were added as three new cantons to the existing nineteen, which were acknowledged in their integrity; the bishopric of Basle was annexed principally to the canton of Berne, but partly also to the canton of Basle. The confederacy has subsequently consisted of twenty-two cantons. 1. Zurich. 2. Berne. 3. Lucerne. 4. Uri. 5. Schweitz. 6. Underwalden. 7. Glaris. 8. Zug. 9. Friburg. 10. Soleure. 11. Basle. 12. Schaffhausen. 13. Appenzell. 14. St. Gall. 15. Grisons. 16. Aargau. 17. Thurgau. 18. Tesin. 19.

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Vaud. 20. Valais. 21. Neufchatel. 22. Geneva. By the new act of confederacy, signed and sworn to by the twenty-two cantons, Aug. 7, 1815; *a.* All the cantons guaranteed each others' territory and constitutions. There are no longer any subject countries, and the enjoyment of political rights cannot be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens. *b.* The common affairs of the confederacy shall be discussed in a diet, to be held, every two years, alternately at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne. (In the intervening time, the presiding place manages them.) It consists of the ambassadors of the twenty-two cantons, who vote according to their instructions. Each has one vote; the majority decides; in foreign alliances two-thirds are necessary. The burgo-master or mayor in office of the city, in which the diet is convened, presides. *c.* The diet manages the affairs of the confederacy, declares war and peace, and forms alliances with foreign states. *d.* Settlement of the contingents of troops and pecuniary contributions, etc.

(P. USTERI) *Handbuch des Schweizerischen Staatsrechts.* Aarau, 1816, 2 Thle.

19. Though the restoration of the Spanish monarchy in Europe was a consequence of the fall of Napoleon, matters took a different turn from their course in other states. The territory of the state within Europe had undergone no changes; but the Cortes, which had assembled during the war and imprisonment of the king, had framed a constitution, which, founded on
1812. the sovereignty of the people, made the king the mere servant of the Cortes. But at the return of the king he not only refused to accept it, but
1814. proceeded with the utmost rigour against its authors. Instead, however, of employing the moment for the introduction of a better constitution, which the nation was justified in expecting,

after such a conflict and such sacrifices, the opposite extreme was adopted; and the absolute power of the king was again introduced, supported by the inquisition, restraint on the press, and the jesuits. Many symptoms of secret ferment were afterwards exhibited, with the deepest decline of the finances, and a total want of credit. Notwithstanding, an army was collected at Cadiz, against the insurgent America; an army, which Spain could neither pay nor embark.

20. The consequence of this political error was an insurrection among the army, kindled by Riego and others of its leaders, with the proclamation of the constitution of the Cortes, which the king was forced to accept. Europe saw, therefore, for the first time, the doubly pernicious example (which was not unfortunately to be without imitation) of an army, commanding instead of obeying, and of a constitution which, instead of a true monarchy, was neither a monarchy nor a republic.

The insurrection, having broken out in the army at Cadiz, Jan. 1, 1820, soon spread to Ferrol and Corunna, (Feb.) The king issued a proclamation that he accepted the constitution of the Cortes, and the oath was administered, March 8.

Conformably with the constitution, March 18, 1812, 1. The Cortes were entirely independent of the king as far as respects their continuance, form, and assembling. 2. They consisted of only one chamber. 3. They had the right of moving and enacting laws. 4. The king possessed the right only of proposing them, and a temporary *veto*. 5. They fixed annually the amount of forces, both on land and sea.

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6. They possessed the right of confirming treaties of alliance and commerce. 7. They nominated to the king the members of his council of state. 8. They fixed the salaries of his council as well as of the seven ministers (secretaries of state). All ecclesiastical benefices, and all the offices of judge, could be bestowed or filled by the king only, on the nomination of the council of state. 10. The king was not to marry or go out of the kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes, on penalty of the loss of his throne.—What powers and rights still remained to the king, every one may easily judge.

21. The consequences of such a defective state of administration were inevitable. An opposite party was soon formed at Urgel, under the protection of a French cordon on the frontiers; and, as the foreign powers considered it impossible to submit to the deposition of the king, his forcible restoration to sovereign authority, was, at the congress of Laybach, confided to the armed mediation of France. But instead of a constitutional monarchy, the old system of absolute and uncontrolled power was introduced, and put into execution with the most rigorous severity. Excessive irritation in the interior, and numerous emigrations naturally followed. The clergy and their followers, calling themselves the apostolical party, were predominant; because, at the low ebb of the public finances, they only were in possession of money. Time alone will show, whether a more happy state of affairs will result from the present condition of turbulence and discord.

Erection of a hostile regency at Seo d'Urgel, Aug. 15,

1822, with a proclamation of the absolute king. March of the French army into Spain, under the command of the Dauphin, April 1823, upon which the king was conveyed by the Cortes to Seville, and subsequently, owing to the rapid advance of the French, to Cadiz, June. Siege of Cadiz, which capitulated after the storming of Trocadero, Aug 31. Upon the liberation of the king, however, the decree of Oct. 1, was issued, by which all the acts of the constitutional regency, from March 7, 1820, to Oct. 1, 1823, were declared to be null and void, and absolute power again restored. Thus then the total absence of political illumination, was justly punished by a transition from one extreme to the other.

22. That the great change in the Portuguese monarchy, by which a colony became the principal country and the seat of government, has been already noticed. Though Portugal still preceded Brazil in the royal title of the united monarchies, this was not enough to compensate for the loss of the court, so severely felt by the capital; and the military spirit, so powerfully awakened in the nation by the war, made the consequences of the discontent doubly formidable, as soon as the example was given by Spain. In Portugal, also, the insurrection first broke out among the troops; an intermediate government had to convene the Cortes, who were still employed in framing a constitution, which was, however, sufficiently far advanced to leave the king, on his return from Brazil, only the shadow of authority.

The insurrection broke out among the troops at Oporto, Aug. 24, 1820; it soon formed a combination with the insurrection at Lisbon, for the erection of a provisory govern-

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ment and the convocation of the Cortes. The Cortes were opened, May 1821, and the king returned in July. In the essential points the constitution framed by the Cortes coincided with the Spanish; and in some particulars circumscribed the royal power still more.

23. How could it therefore be otherwise than that similar consequences should follow such a state of things, as had previously developed themselves in Spain. In Portugal, however, they were further aggravated by personal connections, and the distracted family circumstances of the house of Braganza. The constitutional government had scarcely been introduced when it was abolished. Don Miguel, the younger son of the king, actually made an attempt, though in vain, to dethrone his own father; and upon the death of the latter there ensued a quarrel between the two brothers, relative to the succession, which is not yet determined, and has subjected Portugal to a system of tyranny which seems to have no bounds.

The constitution abolished, by an insurrection of the troops under don Miguel, June 5, 1823. His abortive attempt to dethrone his father, May 9, 1824, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave Portugal. Upon the death of John VI., March 10, 1826, don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, nominated his daughter Maria da Gloria, to be queen, under the regency of the Infanta Isabella, till Feb. 26, 1828, and afterwards under that of don Miguel, who however caused himself to be proclaimed king by the Cortes, June 30, but without being ever recognised as such by the foreign courts.

24. The new Spanish doctrines were not, however, to be confined to the peninsula of

the Pyrenees; they soon found their adherents in Italy. The restoration of the prior order of things would have found its principal obstructions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, had not the conduct of Murat come to the aid of the allies. After his downful (see p. 357,) there was no obstacle to the restoration of Naples to king Ferdinand of Sicily, when both countries were again united into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, according to its ancient boundaries. But to preserve internal tranquillity was difficult among a disquiet people, accustomed to so many revolutions and in whom the seed of innovation had probably been long cherished in a society, called that of the Carbonari, who soon grew into an extensive sect, but first became dangerous to the state by their success with the army. Here too an armed power prescribed to, and extorted from, the king the acceptance of a constitution, and that indeed a foreign constitution, the Spanish. The further diffusion of the insurrection could be no longer doubtful, since it was speedily seen in the north of the peninsula! and left it to the option of the allied powers, and especially of Austria, (which was most interested in the case,) either to be the quiet spectators of a general Italian revolution, or to anticipate it by force of arms. The latter was preferred; and the facility of success put an end to the apprehensions which had been entertained.

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The insurrection began in the army, July 2, 1820. The Spanish constitution was accepted by the king, and the crown prince appointed regent, July 7. A parliament was convoked and opened, Oct. 1. But the monarchs and their ministers assembled at Troppau, and afterwards at Laybach, Oct. 18, whither the king of the Two Sicilies was invited in person, and proceeded, December 13. The allied monarchs promulgated a declaration against the new order in Naples, Feb. 9, 1821; and an Austrian army advanced, by which the ancient order was restored without bloodshed; but the kingdom remained occupied by the Austrians.

CARRASCOSA, *Mémoires sur la révolution de Naples.* London, 1823.

25. The restoration of the kingdom of Sardinia constituted a material part of the restoration of Italy. Its territorial extent—less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience—was increased by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with the grant of some liberties and of a free harbour to the capital. The succession was at the same time secured to the line of Carignan, by the act of the congress of Vienna. Here also the public quiet was interrupted by the insurrection of a part of the army; it was soon, however, quelled, with the assistance of Austria, but induced the king Victor Emanuel to resign the crown in favour of his brother Charles Felix.

The garrisons Alessandria and Turin became insurgent, March 10 and 12, 1821. The Austrian troops formed a junction, April 8, with those which remained faithful to the king, and after some skirmishes the insurrection was put down.

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26. The state of the church was restored to the same extent it possessed before the revolution, including even Bologna and Ferrara, Austria reserving the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara, with the small district on this side the Po; while France retained Avignon. But the Roman court protested even against this, though in vain. June 14, 1815.

27. The restoration of the secundogenitures of Austria, in Italy, in the grand duchy of Tuscany (aggrandised by the possession of the island of Elba and the Stato degli presidi) and in the duchy of Modena according to its ancient boundaries, was increased by a third, in Parma and Piacenza, in favour of the archduchess Maria Louisa, the wife of Napoleon. But not without the resistance of Spain, which refused for that reason to sign the act of the congress of Vienna, claiming Parma and Piacenza for don Carlos the son of the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria. The justice of the demand was acknowledged; and the matter was adjusted by a subsequent compromise.

By the compact between Austria and Spain at Paris, June 10, 1817. *a.* The archduchess Maria Louisa remained in possession, for life, of Parma and Piacenza. *b.* After her death, it was to revert to the Infanta Maria Louisa, and her son don Carlos. After the extinction of his male posterity, Parma reverts to Austria, and Piacenza to Sardinia. *c.* The Infanta acquired, in the meanwhile, the duchy of Lucca; which in case of succession in Parma, or of extinction, falls to Tuscany.

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28. The republic of the Seven Islands, formed during the storms of war, the possession of which had already changed several times in the course of fifteen years, (see p. 252, 301,) was placed under the protection of Great Britain, by a compact of the four leading powers, with the right of garrison, the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgment of her commercial flag. She is thus secured; but time must determine, whether Grecian culture will revive under British guardianship.

A treaty respecting the seven Ionian islands was signed at Paris, Nov. 5, 1815, by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The republic consists of the islands Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, St Mauro, Ithaca, Paxo, and Cerigo, with their dependencies. Constitution of Dec. 29, 1817. A lord commissioner occupies the place of the king of England as protector. He appoints the president of the senate, consisting of five members, taken from the legislative assembly, which is chosen by the noble electors. The senate has the executive and the initiatory power; but every law and resolution must first have the approbation of the lord commissioner. Each island has its separate government and courts. For them all, there is a court of appeal. The Greek church and language are predominant.

29. The north of Europe, as the preceding history has shown, was not spared by the convulsions of the times; and all the states, pertaining to it, underwent great changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway; and received in compensation, nothing but Swedish Pomerania, which it exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenberg as far as the Elbe (see

p. 415). Reckoned by its superficial contents, this was but a poor indemnification; but by its situation and internal value, by no means unimportant. Whether the loss of Norway was in reality a loss to Denmark may be doubted. Norway indeed had need of Denmark, but, taking the navy out of the question, Denmark was not equally indebted to Norway. And a navy of its former strength Denmark would hardly wish to restore. The constitution of Denmark remained unaltered. The introduction of a constitution of states in Holstein, which, separated again from Denmark (see p. 408) belonged to the Germanic Confederation, has not yet grown to maturity.

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30. The Scandinavian peninsula now stood under one sovereign in consequence of the union of Norway and Sweden (see p. 357.) Sweden sought in this union a recompense for the loss of Finland, and found it in a political, if not in a statistical respect. Under a king who has already won renown in war, the two kingdoms are probably destined to enjoy a long period of peace. It will heal the wounds inflicted by unnecessary participation in former wars, if Norway, treated so ungraciously by nature, can but find a remuneration for what nature has denied. In possession of a free constitution, both kingdoms have, in this respect, nothing to desire. They both enjoy their tranquillity.

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The Swedish and Norwegian constitutions differ in the circumstance, that in Sweden there exists a powerful hereditary nobility as the first estate of the kingdom; in Norway there neither exists any nobility, nor can any be erected. The Swedish constitution underwent no alteration from the change of dynasty. The fundamental law of Norway in one hundred and twelve articles, May 17, and Nov. 4, 1814, establishes an hereditary, constitutional monarchy, as in a self-existent, independent, and indivisible kingdom, united under one king with Sweden. The king has the whole executive power, and the ratification of the laws (with limitations); appoints his council of state; declares war (with the observance of some formalities); concludes alliances, treaties of commerce and peace. The assembly of the estates (Storthing) consists of elected members, and is divided, by choice, into two divisions, the Lagthing, containing a fourth of the members, and the Odelsthing, containing three-fourths. The Storthing has the legislative power, the king shares the right of proposing laws with the Odelsthing, by which the propositions are laid before the Lagthing. The members are chosen for three years, and the Storthing is held triennially in the capital, and opened by the king; he can, however, convoke it on extraordinary occasions.

The fundamental law may be found complete in *Polit. Journal*, 1818, numbers i.—v.

31. No state issued from these storms more enlarged and strengthened—for strength grows by struggling—than Russia. In the north it was aggrandised by the possession of all Finland, in the south by Bessarabia and part of Moldavia, and in the east by several provinces in consequence of the treaty of peace with Persia, while
1814. Poland was allotted to it at the peace of Vienna. Of greater influence was the national spirit, heightened by the happy event of the conflict,

and most of all, a ruler, whose spirit and activity was acquainted with, and embraced all his vast sphere of action. Russia, pertaining to two quarters of the world, and founding its dominion in a third, is thus placed in a situation, where— aggrandisement is no longer fortunate. Its constitution is, on the whole, unaltered; but single reforms seem to be only the preludes of a revolution which the future must unveil.

By the Ukase of Sept. 16, 1821, Russia appropriated to itself the North-west coast of America, from Bhering's Straits to 51° N. lat., and the Kurile isles as far as Urup, 45° N. lat., and prohibited foreign navigation in the vicinity of the coasts, as well as on the coasts.

32. The restoration of the kingdom of Poland was the final result of the changeful destiny and sufferings of this state. Its territory comprises the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the duchy of Posen, assigned to Prussia, and the city of Cracow with its territory, which was declared a free city. Though Poland was united for ever with the Russian empire, it acquired its own representative government, and constitutes therefore, a state distinct from Russia, but united under the same monarch.

The fate of the kingdom of Poland was decided at Vienna by the compacts of May 3, 1815. The constitution given it, May 25, left the principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged. *a.* The king possesses the plenitude of executive power. He confides the discharge of

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it to a governor or viceroy, appointed by him, a council of state, and ministers. *b.* The diet consists of the sénate, and the chamber of deputies. The senate consists of thirty members (among them ten bishops) appointed by the king for life. The chamber of deputies consists of sixty members, chosen by the assemblies of the provinces, at least forty years of age. They continue in office nine years, and a third is renewed triennially. The members of the council of state have a seat and vote in the chamber. *c.* The diet is convened every two years at the time fixed by the king, and deliberates concerning the laws proposed by him; its session, however, continues no longer than fourteen days.

For further information see the *Polit. Journal*, 1816, p. 11.

The free city of Cracow, with its territory, to which the act of the congress of Vienna, App. iii., (a document, worded with the most careful precision,) secured independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality, (as too important in a military point of view to be overlooked,) together with the republic of San Marino, which still exists and has hitherto existed, as far as is known, unchanged, in the state of the church, belong to the political curiosities of Europe.

33. The Porte had kept itself aloof from these storms, with the exception of the war with Russia, (see p. 314,) which had cost it Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia. Assisted by the powerful and almost independent pacha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, who seems by the introduction of European civilisation to be desirous of restoring the throne of the Pharaohs, the Porte was more active in Arabia, against the Wahhabites, than in Europe. But in its own territory a storm gathered, of which it is still uncertain whether it will be confined to its boundaries. The Greeks recalled to remembrance their ancient freedom

and their ancient renown; an insurrection broke out simultaneously in almost every part of the country and was pursued on both sides, on the mainland and on the sea, with a degree of rancorous hostility which scarcely seems to admit of reconciliation. Political relations of Europe. 1821—.

The insurrection broke out in Moldavia, under Ypsilanti, and almost simultaneously in the Morea, April, 1821, as well as on most of the islands of the Archipelago, whose squadrons were generally superior to the Turkish. At the end of the year 1821, the Turks were driven from the Morea and the islands, with the exception of the garrisons of several strong fortresses, but a great Russian army was already assembled—surely for some purpose—on the banks of the Pruth. (For the objects of this movement see below.)

34. In order to complete the work of the allied sovereigns, as far as that was possible to be done by outward forms, there was still wanting a full and perfect reconciliation with France, by withdrawing the army of observation, (see above p. 356.) Accordingly, after the full discharge of the pecuniary engagements entered into by France, that measure was finally resolved upon, and put in execution at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, principally through the mediation of the duke of Wellington. The admission of France into the confederation of the great powers, followed of course. Oct. 9, 1818.

35. The political system of Europe was thus restored in its single parts; no important territorial question remained unsettled. That it was

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to be a free political system, a restoration of the balance of power—was loudly and repeatedly declared by the restorers themselves. It has been asked, whether such a balance can exist with the inequality even of the leading members? It has been apprehended, that by the union of Poland with Russia, the preponderance of the latter power on the continent would become too great, while Great Britain, as a naval power, had no counterpoise. But naval wars, like the former, are no longer to be feared in Europe; since England has now no rival either in Europe or in the colonies; and as for the first question, we now know that the mass itself does not decide, but the spirit by which the mass is animated. The taste for political freedom, so generally excited in the nations of the west of Europe, is a stronger bulwark than a chain of fortresses, however desirable this also might be.

36. But nevertheless, an aristocracy of the leading powers has been practically and diplomatically formed in the restored political system of Europe, such as did not exist, at least openly, in the former system of that quarter of the world. Practically, it originated in the manner itself of the restoration; for how was it possible that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of the monarchs to whose strenuous exertions the weaker were indebted for their restoration? In a diplomatical

point of view, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of the relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, (see p. 341;) it was confirmed by the form of the negotiations at Vienna, and the league of Vienna, (see p. 351,) and finally, it was perfected by the accession of France at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. A gradation, however, in the aristocracy, was immediately formed at Vienna; for while the general concerns of Europe were discussed by those five leading powers, the acts of the congress were, moreover, signed by Portugal and Sweden, which Spain afterwards joined.

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June 15, 1817.

37. But what cause is there to find fault with such an aristocracy, so long as, confining itself to affairs of general interest, it prescribes to itself the limits which these demand? It is then necessary and useful, because it springs from the nature of things; unsuspicious, because it is public; while it constitutes, in a certain measure, an European senate, which wants only a fixed form. The personal meeting of the monarchs cannot always supply this deficiency; that it will be felt, some incidents have already evinced. But here also it is reserved for time to bring to maturity what time only can develop. How beneficial might such an union be for settling the differences that may arise be-

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tween the powers themselves, or as mediating authorities between the others! But on the other hand, how dangerous if, even though from excessive anxiety, they should transgress the proper limits!

The political principles of this union were clearly expressed in the Protocol and Declaration made at Aix-la-Chapelle, (see Appendix.) The congress of the sovereigns and their ministers at Laybach, Jan.—May, 1821, and at Vienna, Oct., 1822, was a consequence of this arrangement, having for its object the preservation of peace in connection with legitimacy, both of which had been violated by the military revolutions that had just occurred in Naples and Sardinia, in Spain and in Portugal, (see above.) That their apprehensions, in this case, were not exaggerated, has been shown by experience, however causeless they might have been elsewhere. We have already noticed above, (see p. 403,) that the idea of legitimacy, in the European sense of the term, does not apply to the case of the Porte.

38. But a higher sanction than mere diplomacy could lend, policy was to acquire by invoking religion to her aid. To Alexander may be attributed the origin of the Holy Alliance, personally concluded with the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, who were gradually joined by all the christian states of Europe, England not acceding formally, but acknowledging its principles. The three monarchs bound themselves "agreeably to the words of holy scripture, which commands all men to love as brethren, to remain united in the bonds of true and indissoluble brotherly love; always to assist one

another; to govern their subjects as parents; to maintain religion, peace, and justice. They consider themselves but as members of one and the same christian family; commissioned by Providence, to govern the branches of one family. They call on all powers who acknowledge similar principles to join this Holy Alliance."

The Holy Alliance was concluded at Paris, Sept. 26, 1815, between the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia.—Politicians, accustomed only to the language and forms of modern diplomacy, were startled at this strange phenomenon. Had they forgotten that the diplomacy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was wont to say much respecting Christianity and its welfare? The conclusion of an alliance by a declaration similar to the one above given, namely, "That the right of the people should be the foundation of policy," was not merely suitable to the times, it was in fact absolutely necessary in an age, which had so lately seen the liberties of the people trodden under foot. That no sinister motives or ambitious views lay concealed in the background, has been sufficiently shown by the result. The difficulties that have stood in the way of its beneficial operation are owing to the defective nature of popular right on the continent, which leaves several of the most important questions undetermined, such, for instance as that touching the propriety of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign states.

Notice sur Alexandre, empereur de Russie, par H. L. EMPETA, ministre du St. Evangile. à Génève, 1828, 8vo. The influence here said to have been exercised by a certain baroness von Krüdener upon the emperor, and the Holy Alliance, is contradicted by General LA HARPE, formerly the emperor's preceptor, in the *Globe*, tom. vii. No. 65, Aug. 15, 1829.

39. While the most powerful monarchs of the

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principal christian creeds were thus binding the ties of brotherly love in behalf of themselves and their subjects; while the two evangelical churches, so long separated, were forming a voluntary union in several countries; the papal court pursued an opposite line of policy. In truth, the Roman church, as well as the Roman state, had need of a restoration; and Pius VII., as its head, only discharged his duty as far as he deemed it to the advantage of the church. But it was soon percieved, that much less was thought of the restoration of the Roman church than of the restoration of the authority of the Vatican, and the enforcement of its pretensions. One of the first measures was the re-establishment of the society of the Jesuits, as a principal support of the Roman chair. Time must show how far it can be so; and whether, as in Italy, and part of Germany and Switzerland, it will find access also into France and the rest of Germany, and, as formerly, rekindle the flames of hatred and discord. This, indeed, it may always effect, without, however, recovering its political influence; and that its members want neither a hearty good-will nor means for the work, has been already experienced to the cost of France, Spain, and the Netherlands. From Russia they were already expelled. One state alone, Portugal, declared itself immediately against their admission; will not others, will not Germany follow? Can the fearful lessons of the past, exhibited in

these very courts, which saw their only chance of safety in the expulsion of the Jesuits, be so soon forgotten?—A bull was sent forth against "the pestilence of Bible Societies;" as if the days of Gregory VII. were returned. But the most important step was undoubtedly the conclusion of treaties respecting the ecclesiastical relations with the temporal princes. But only two concordats, with Naples and with Bavaria, have been hitherto completed; and the last not without opposition. The one negotiated with France seems to have been tacitly revoked by the government, and the ready advances made by protestant princes towards their catholic subjects, as for instance in Prussia, Hanover, and the Netherlands, have only been attended with partial results.

The Jesuits were restored by the bull: *Solicitudo omnium*, 1814, Aug. 7. A remarkable papal brief (its authenticity has not been denied) was issued against Bible Societies, describing them as; *vaferrimum inventum, pestem, quoad fieri potest delendam*, and addressed to the archbishop of Gnesen, primate of Poland. Jesuit maxims and Jesuit Latin are equally incorrigible!

It may be found in the *Polit. Journal* for June 1817.

40. Next to their solicitude for the preservation of peace thus restored, the principal business which occupied the attention of the several governments, was the preservation, or at least the restoration, of public credit in money matters. The desire of providing for

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the excessively increased burden of debt, under which almost all the states laboured, together with the necessary demands for the payment of interest, or where it was possible, the discharge of the capital itself, by a fresh system of equitable loans, gave rise to a speculating trade in government securities, which engrossed the mercantile interest and activity, to the exclusion of almost every thing else, and was even the means of procuring for some of the great banking houses, a degree of political influence, never before known. This was, alas! an unproductive speculation, ruinous alike to public industry and good manners.

Der öffentliche Credit dargestellt in der Geschichte und in den Finanzoperationen der grossen Europäischen Staaten seit Herstellung des allgemeinen Friedens, ihrer Massregeln zur Begründung oder Befestigung öffentlicher Creditanstalten, und der Begebenheiten in der Handelswelt, deren Wirkung damit zusammengetroffen, von FR. NEBENIUS, Karlsruhe, 1802, 8vo. The most instructive work on the subject: the second edition, still in progress, will bring it down to the present time.

41. While the affairs of the West were thus being composed, those of the East on the other hand, continually attracted the eyes of politicians. The insurrection of the Greeks still proceeded, with various success indeed, but with an interest on the part of the European nations, scarcely if at all inferior to what they would have exhibited in their own behalf. It was excited, under the noblest of feelings, and with the most favourable

hopes for the result. The several cabinets naturally regarded it in a political point of view, and the negotiations entered into, could hardly fail in the long run to produce at least an unanimity of opinion, that Greece ought to be a free state, notwithstanding the Porte obstinately withheld its consent.

Proclamation of independence issued by the Greek national congress at Epidaurus, Jan. 27, 1822. Among the particular events of the war, the daring achievements of the Greeks by sea, especially by means of fireships, and on land the victory at Thermopylæ (Zeitun) are distinguished; and not less so the barbarous capture of Scio, April 12, 1822, and of Ipsara, July 3, 1824, by the Turks. It was not however till the landing of an Egyptian and Turkish flotilla and army under Ibrahim Pacha, in the Morea. Nov. 5, 1825, that the war on the mainland became of a truly murderous character, owing to the ravages committed in the peninsula, and the siege of fortified places, in particular of the heroically defended Missolonghi, Nov. 1825, to April 23, 1826.—Nevertheless Ibrahim could not maintain his possession of Argos or Napoli di Romagna.—In the mean time a treaty was concluded at London, July 6, 1827, between Russia, England, and France, having for its object the restoration of peace and the establishment of Greek independence; whereupon, in consequence of Ibrahim's refusal to evacuate the Morea, followed the battle of Navarino, Oct. 20, 1827, which ended in the total destruction of the Turkish navy by the allies, without however, immediately producing a general war, though it led, after a tedious delay, to the ultimate evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim, Aug. 1828; upon which a body of French troops were introduced, Sept. and at the same time count Capo d'Istria, having been nominated to the presidency of Greece, upon the erection of the Panhellenion, Jan. 1828, occupied himself with the organisation of the rising state;

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while the Morea and the Cyclades were placed under the protection of the allied powers, Nov. 16, and the agreement made by Protocol at London, March 22, 1829, was to fix the yet undetermined boundaries of the future state.

42. Although the allies had reason on their own part to apprehend a general war with the Porte, yet the injurious behaviour of the Porte itself towards Russia, and its delay in fulfilling the conditions of the treaty of Ackerman, was the occasion of a war between these two powers, which did not end before the victorious arms of of Russia, already in possession of Adrianople, menaced the Turkish capital itself, and Sultan Mahmud saw himself reduced to the necessity of accepting such conditions as the emperor Nicholas I. thought fit to prescribe.

By the treaty of Ackerman, Oct. 26, 1826, the still disputed articles of the peace of Bucharest, (see above p. 315,) were to be adjusted. Offensive firman issued by the Porte against Russia, Dec. 20, 1827. Declaration of war by Russia, April 26, 1828. The fortress of Braila was taken June 19, and Varna Oct. 11, but the Russians were not able to advance in this campaign beyond the Balkan. But in the summer of 1829, under the command of general count Diebitsch, after the siege of Schumla, June 11, they crossed the Balkan, captured Adrianople and concluded a peace there, Sep. 14, 1829. —Conditions: *a.* The Pruth was to constitute the European boundary as heretofore. All that had been taken was to be restored; Silistria, however, to be dismantled. *b.* An alteration of the Asiatic boundaries; so that the whole eastern coast of the Black sea from the Kuban to the harbour of St. Nicholas, together with the fortresses of Anapa and Poti remained in the possession of Russia. *c.* The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to be confirmed in their rights; but

the Hospodars to be nominated only for life. No Turks were to dwell there. *d.* Free trade on the Black sea and navigation through the straits, for vessels belonging to Russia, and all other countries at peace with the Porte. *e.* The Porte to defray the expenses of the war, hereafter to be determined; and, *f.* To accede to the treaties concluded at London, with reference to the Greeks.

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Negotiators; counts Orloff, Pahlen, and Diebitsch, and Sadik Effendi.

43. By this treaty therefore, the admission of Greece into the list of European states, was at the same time secured in the outset. What consequences the project may lead to, and how far the Porte may choose to recognise its separate existence under a monarchical constitution, and the dominion of a German prince, still remains to be seen. Whatever it may become, a new prospect at all events unfolds itself for the East. The great drama, however, of universal history knows no last act; and the political edifice was never yet possessed of entire perfection and immutability; for nothing is faultless that is the work of man.

APPENDIX.

PROTOCOL SIGNED AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, NOV. 15, 1818, BY THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE COURTS OF AUSTRIA, FRANCE, PRUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND RUSSIA.

THE ministers of these courts, after a mature consideration of the principle on which the restored order of things in Europe depends, do hereby declare:—1. That the above courts are firmly resolved, neither in their own mutual connections, nor in those which they may contract with other states, to depart from the fundamental principles of that close alliance which has hitherto subsisted in all their common affairs, and which, in consequence of the bond of Christian brotherhood established between the sovereigns, has become still more intimate. 2. That this alliance, being so much the more essential and permanent, as it will not be determined by any particular detached interest, nor by any predominating combination, can have no other object in view than the preservation of peace, founded on a conscientious discharge of the several engagements prescribed in the treaties, and a recognition of all the duties arising therefrom. 3. That France, in consequence of the restoration of legitimate and constitutional kingly power, associates herself with the other allies, and undertakes from henceforth to co-operate incessantly towards maintaining and strengthening a system which has given peace to Europe, and which can alone secure its continuance. 4. That, in case the powers who accede to the present resolution, in order to the attainment of the objects here proposed, should judge it necessary to hold an especial meeting, either between the high sovereigns in person, or their ministers and plenipotentiaries, for the purpose of deliberating in common

on their own proper affairs, in so far as these are connected with the subjects of their present negotiations, the time and place of such meeting shall always be previously determined by a diplomatic consultation; in case, however, the affairs to be deliberated on, affect the interests of other European states, the meeting aforesaid shall only take place in consequence of a formal invitation on the part of the state thereby affected, and with a reservation of the right of the latter to attend thereat, either in person or by its plenipotentiaries. 5. That the resolutions herein specified shall be submitted to the knowledge of all the European courts, through the medium of the subjoined declaration.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818. METTERNICH, RICHELIEU, CASTLEREAGH, WELLINGTON, HARDENBERG, BERNSTORF, NESSELRODE, CAPO D'ISTRIA.

DECLARATION.

AT the moment when the last seal is in the act of being put to the determination of withdrawing the foreign troops from the French territories, upon the restoration of peace in Europe; and when the prudential measures, enjoined by painful necessity, are no longer required, the ministers and plenipotentiaries of their imperial majesties, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of France, Great Britain, and Prussia, are commissioned by their respective sovereigns to submit the results of their conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, to the knowledge of all the European courts, and for this purpose to make the following declaration:—

The agreement of Oct. 9, by which the execution of the articles contained in the treaty of peace of Nov. 20, 1815, (see above p. 356,) received its final direction, will be considered by the sovereign powers who assisted thereat, as the key-stone of their work of peace; and as the completion of the political system which is to secure to this work its durability.

The close alliance of the monarchs who became parties to

that system, induced thereto by a regard for its principles as well as the interest of their own people, affords Europe the most sacred pledge of its future tranquillity.

The object of this alliance is as simple as it is beneficent and great. It is neither directed towards any new political undertakings, nor does it intend any disturbance of the relations at present subsisting between the powers, and consecrated by the various treaties now in force. In its steady and peaceful course it aims at nothing so much as the preservation of peace and the security of all those negotiations by which it has been established and confirmed.

The sovereigns recognise as a fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them, the unalterable resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns, nor in their relations with other powers, to depart from the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right; because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace, affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation.

Faithful to these principles, the sovereigns engage to be no less observant of them in the various conferences which may from time to time be held, either between themselves or their respective ministers; whether the conferences in question be devoted to a common deliberation upon their own particular affairs, or whether they concern matters in which other governments shall have formally requested their mediation; the same disposition which is to guide their own deliberations and govern their own diplomatic transactions, shall also preside at these conferences, and have for its constant object the general peace and tranquillity of the world.

Under the impression of such sentiments have the sovereigns concluded the work for which they were called together. In the mean time they will never cease to labour in strengthening and perfecting it. They solemnly acknowledge that their duty towards God and towards the people over whom they rule, imposes upon them the obligation of

exhibiting to the world, as far as lies in their power, an example of justice, unanimity, and moderation. They consider themselves fortunate in being allowed from henceforth to direct all their endeavours to promote the arts of peace, to advance the internal welfare of their respective states, and re-animate those religious and moral feelings, the authority of which has been but too much weakened by the calamities of the times.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818, signed as before. *Ad mandatum* GENZ.

TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE,

FROM 1500 TO 1828.

I. POPES.

	Death or abdication.
Alexander VI. (Borgia) from 1492.	1503, 18th Aug.
Pius III. (Piccolomini)	1503, 18th Oct.
Julius II. (delle Rovere)	1513, 21st Feb.
Leo X. (Medici)	1521, 1st Dec.
Hadrian VI.	1523, 14th Sept.
Clement VII. (Medici)	1534, 25th Sept.
Paul III. (Farnese)	1549, 10th Nov.
Julius III. (Giocchi)	1555, 22d March.
Marcellus II. (Cervini)	1555, 30th April.
Paul IV. (Caraffa)	1559, 17th Aug.
Pius IV. (Medighi)	1565, 9th Dec.
Pius V. (Ghisleri)	1572, 1st May.
Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni)	1585, 10th April.
Sixtus V. (Montalto)	1590, 26th Aug.
Urban VII. (Castagni)	1590, 28th Sept.
Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati)	1591, 15th Oct.
Innocent IX. (Fachinetti)	1591, 29th Dec.
Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini)	1605, 5th March.
Leo XI. (Medici)	1605, 27th April.
Paul V. (Borghese)	1621, 27th Jan.
Gregory XV. (Ludovisi)	1623, 18th July.
Urban VIII. (Barberini)	1644, 29th July.
Innocent X. (Pamphili)	1655, 7th Jan.
Alexander VII. (Chigi)	1667, 21st May.
Clement IX. (Rospigliosi)	1669, 9th Dec.
Clement X. (Altieri)	1676, 21st July.
Innocent XI. (Odescalchi)	1689, 12th Aug.
Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni)	1691, 1st Feb.

	Death or abdication.
Innocent XII. (Pignatelli)	1700, 27th Sept.
Clement XI. (Albani)	1721, 18th March.
Innocent XIII. (Conti)	1724, 3d March.
Benedict XIII. (Orsini)	1730, 20th Feb.
Clement XII. (Corsini)	1740, 5th Feb.
Benedict XIV. (Lambertini)	1758, 2d May.
Clement XIII. (Rezzonico)	1769, 2d Feb.
Clement XIV. (Ganganelli)	1774, 22d Sept.
Pius VI. (Braschi)	1799, 29th Aug.
Pius VII. (Chiaramonte)	1823, 19th Aug.
Leo XII. (della Genga)	1829, 10th Feb.
Pius VIII. (Castiglioni)	

II. ROMAN EMPERORS.—HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

Maximilian I. from 1492	1519, 12th Jan.
Charles V. abdicated	1558, Feb.
Ferdinand I.	1564, 25th July.
Maximilian II.	1576, 12th Oct.
Rudolf II.	1612, 10th Jan.
Mathias	1619, 20th March.
Ferdinand II.	1637, 15th Feb.
Ferdinand III.	1657, 23d March.
Leopold I.	1705, 5th May.
Joseph I.	1711, 17th April.
Charles VI.	1740, 20th Oct.
Charles VII. (of Bavaria)	1745, 20th Jan.

HOUSE OF LORRAINE.

Francis I.	1765, 18th Aug.
Maria Theresa	1780, 29th Nov.
Joseph II.	1790, 20th Feb.
Leopold II.	1792, 1st March.
Francis II. as Roman emperor till	1806, 6th Aug.

III. RUSSIA.

Ivan Vasilevitch the Great from 1462	1505, 27th Oct.
Vasilei	1533, 3d Dec.

	Death or abdication.
Ivan Vasilevitch II. first czar	1584, 28th March.
Feodor I.	1598, 7th Jan.
Boris	1605, 13th April.
Pseudo-Demetrius	1606, 18th May.
Shuskoi	1610, 27th July.

HOUSE OF ROMANZOFF.

Michael Feodorovitch 1613	1645, 12th July.
Alexei	1676, 8th Feb.
Feodor II.	1682, 27th April.
Ivan (with Peter and Sophia)	1689, 11th Sept.
Peter I. alone (emperor 1721)	1725, 8th Feb.
Catharine I.	1727, 17th May.
Peter II.	1730, 29th Jan.
Anne	1740, 28th Oct.
Ivan III.	1741, 6th Oct.
Elizabeth	1762, 5th Jan.
Peter III. (of Holstein-Gottorp)	1762, 9th July.
Catharine II.	1796, 17th Nov.
Paul I.	1801, 24th March.
Alexander I.	1826, 1st Dec.
Nicholas I.	

IV. SULTANS.

Bajazet II. from 1481, deposed	1512, August.
Selim I.	1520, 22d Sept.
Soliman II.	1566, 4th Sept.
Selim II.	1574, 13th Dec.
Murad III.	1595, 18th Jan.
Muhammed III.	1603, 21st Dec.
Achmet I.	1617, 15th Nov.
Mustapha I. dethroned for the second time	1623, 16th Aug.
Murad IV.	1640, 8th Feb.
Ibrahim	1648, 17th Aug.
Muhammed IV. deposed	1687, 29th Oct.
Soliman III.	1691, 22d June.
Achmet II.	1695, 6th Feb.

	Death or abdication.
Mustapha II. deposed	1703, 30th Sept.
Achmet III. deposed	1730, 2d Oct.
Mahmud I.	1754, 13th Sept.
Osman III.	1757, 28th Oct.
Mustapha III.	1774, 21st Jan.
Abdul Hamid	1789, 7th April.
Selim III. deposed	1807, 29th May.
Mustapha IV. deposed	1808, 28th July.
Mahmud II.	

V. PORTUGAL.—House of Burgundy.

Emanuel the Great, from 1495	1521, 13th Dec.
John III.	1557, 10th June.
Sebastian	1578, 4th Aug.
Henry	1580, 31st Jan.

Portugal Spanish till 1640.

House of Braganza.

John IV. Dec. 1640.	1656, 28th Feb.
Alphonso VI. deposed	1667, 23d Nov.
Peter II.	1706, 9th Dec.
John V.	1750, 31st July.
Joseph Emanuel	1777, 25th Feb.
Maria I.	1816, 20th March.
John VI. (regent 1799)	1826, 10th March.
Maria da Gloria	

VI. SPAIN.—House of Hapsburg.

Ferdinand the Catholic, from 1479 }	1516, 1st Jan.
Isabella from 1474 }	1504, 26th Nov.
Philip I. of Austria, from 1504	1506, 25th Sept.
Charles I. from 1516, (abdicated 1556)	1558, 21st Sept.
Philip II.	1598, 13th Sept.
Philip III.	1621, 28th Feb.
Philip IV.	1665, 17th Sept.
Charles II.	1700, 1st Nov.

HOUSE OF ANJOU.

	Death or abdication.
Philip V.	1746, 9th July.
(Louis) 15th Jan. 1724	1724, 1st Aug.
Ferdinand VI.	1759, 10th Aug.
Charles III.	1788, 13th Dec.
Charles IV. abdicated	1808, 19th March.
(Joseph Buonaparte till May 1814)	
Ferdinand VII.	

VII. FRANCE.—House of Valois.

Charles VIII. from 1483	1498, 7th April.
Louis XII.	1515, 1st Jan.
Francis I.	1547, 31st March.
Henry II.	1559, 10th July.
Francis II.	1560, 5th Dec.
Charles IX.	1574, 30th May.
Henry III.	1589, 1st Aug.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

Henry IV.	1610, 14th May.
Louis XIII.	1643, 14th May.
Louis XIV.	1715, 1st Sept.
Louis XV.	1774, 10th May.
Louis XVI.	1793, 21st Jan.
(Louis XVII.)	1795, 8th June.
(Napoleon Emperor 1804—1814)	
Louis XVIII.	1824, 16th Sept.
Charles X.	

VIII. ENGLAND.—House of Tudor.

Henry VII. from 1485	1509, 21st April.
Henry VIII.	1547, 28th Jan.
Edward VI.	1553, 6th July.

	Death or abdication.
Mary	1558, 17th Nov.
Elizabeth	1603, 3d April.

HOUSE OF STUART.

James I.	1625, 6th April.
Charles I.	1649, 30th Jan.
(Cromwell)	1658, 3d Sept.
Charles II. from 1660	1685, 5th Feb.
James II. exiled	1688, 24th Dec.
William III. }	1702, 19th March.
Mary }	1695, 6th Jan.
Anne	1714, 12th Aug.

HOUSE OF HANOVER.

George I.	1727, 22d June.
George II.	1760, 25th Oct.
George III.	1820, 29th Jan.
George IV. (Prince Regent 1811, 10th Jan.)	

KINGS IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNION.

HOUSE OF STUART.

James IV. from 1488	1513, 9th Sept.
James V.	1542, 8th Dec.
Mary	1587, 8th Feb.
James VI. king of England 1603	

IX. NAPLES.—House of Arragon.

Ferdinand I. from 1458	1494, 25th Jan.
Alphonso II. abdicated	1495, 22d Jan.
Ferdinand II.	1496, 7th Oct.
Frederic dethroned	1501.

Naples Spanish till 1713.
Austrian till 1735.

SPANISH HOUSE OF ANJOU.

	Death or abdication.
Charles III. from 1735	1759, 5th Oct.
Ferdinand IV.	1825, 4th Jan.
(Joseph Buonaparte 1806, 30th March	1808, 15th July.)
(Joachim Murat	1815, 20th May.)
Francis I.	

X. SAVOY.

Philibert II. duke from 1497	1504, 10th Sept.
Charles III.	1553, 16th Sept.
Emanuel Philibert	1580, 15th Aug.
Charles Emanuel I. the Great	1630, 26th July.
Victor Amadeus I.	1637, 7th Oct.
Charles Emanuel II.	1675, 12th June.
Victor Amadeus II. king of Sardinia, 1720, abdicated.	1730, 2d Sept.
Charles Emanuel III.	1773, 20th Feb.
Victor Amadeus III.	1796, 16th Oct.
Charles Emanuel IV. abdicated	1802, 4th June.
Victor Emanuel abdicated	1821, 13th March.
Charles Felix	

XI. POLAND.

Sigismund I. from 1506	1548, 1st April.
Sigismund II. Augustus	1572, 1st June.
Henry of Valois fled	1574, 18th June.
Stephen Bathori	1586, 12th Dec.
Sigismund III.	1632, 30th April.
Vladislaus IV.	1648, 20th May.
John Casimir abdicated	1668, 17th Sept.
Michael Visnovicky	1673, 10th Nov.
John Sobiesky	1696, 17th June.
Augustus II. of Saxony	1733, 1st Feb.
(Stanislaus-Lesczinsky 1704—1709)	
Augustus III.	1763, 5th Oct.
Stanislaus Poniatowsky deposed	1795.

XII. DENMARK.—House of Holstein-Oldenburg.

	Death or abdication.
John, from 1481	1513, 20th Feb.
Christian II. deposed	1523, Jan.
Frederic I.	1533, 10th April.
Christian III.	1559, 1st Jan.
Frederic II.	1588, 4th April.
Christian IV.	1648, 28th Feb.
Frederic III.	1670, 9th Feb.
Christian V.	1699, 25th Aug.
Frederic IV.	1730, 12th Oct.
Christian VI.	1746, 6th Aug.
Frederic V.	1766, 14th Jan.
Christian VII.	1808, 13th March.
Frederic VI. (associate sovereign 1784)	

XIII. SWEDEN.—House of Vasa.

Gustavus Vasa from 1524	1560, 29th Sept.
Erich XIV. deposed	1568, 29th Sept.
John	1592, 21st May.
Sigmund deposed	1600.
Charles IX.	1611, 30th Oct.
Gustavus Adolphus	1632, 6th Nov.
Christina abdicated	1654, 16th June.

House of Deux Ponts.

Charles X. Gustavus	1660, 23d Feb.
Charles XI.	1697; 15th April.
Charles XII.	1718, 11th Dec.
Ulrica Eleonora Frederic of Hesse	1751, 6th April.

House of Holstein-Gottorp.

Adolphus Frederic	1771, 12th Feb.
Gustavus III.	1792, 29th March.

	Death or abdication.
Gustavus IV. deposed	1809, 13th March.
Charles XIII.	1818, 5th Feb.
Charles XIV. John (Bernadotte)	

XIV. THE ELECTORAL-PALATINATE.

Philip Ingenuus, elector from 1476	1508, 28th Feb.
Ludovicus V.	1544, 16th March.
Frederic II.	1556, 26th Feb.
Otto Henry	1559, 12th Feb.

PALATINATE OF SIMMERN.

Frederic III.	1576, 26th Oct.
Ludovicus VI.	1583, 12th Oct.
Frederic IV.	1610, 9th Sept.
Frederic V. (deposed 1623)	1632, 19th Nov.
Charles Louis reinstated 1650	1680, 28th Aug.
Charles	1685, 16th May.

PALATINATE OF NEUBURG.

Philip William	1690, 2d Sept.
Charles Philip	1742, 31st Dec.

PALATINATE OF SULZBACH.

Charles Theodore (see Bavaria)	1799, 16th Feb.

XV. BAVARIA.

Albert IV. duke, from 1473	1508, 17th March.
William IV.	1550, 6th March.
Albert V.	1579, 24th Oct.
William V. abdicated	1597.
Maximilian I. elector 1623	1651, 17th Sept.
Ferdinand Maria	1679, 26th May.
Maximilian II. Emanuel	1726, 27th Feb.
Charles Albert (emperor Charles VII.)	1745, 20th Jan.

	Death or abdication.
Maximilian III. Joseph	1777, 30th Dec.
Charles Theodore of the Palatinate	1799, 16th Feb.
Maximilian Joseph, king 1806	1825, 13th Oct.
Louis I.	

XVI. ELECTORATE OF SAXONY.

ERNESTINE LINE.

Frederic III. the wise elector 1500	1525, 5th May.
John Constance	1532, 16th Aug.
John Frederic, lost the electorate	1547, 4th June.

ALBERTINE LINE.

Maurice, elector 1547	1553, 11th July.
Augustus	1586, 11th Feb.
Christian I.	1591, 25th Sept.
Christian II.	1611, 23d June.
John George I.	1656, 8th Oct.
John George II.	1680, 22d Aug.
John George III.	1691, 12th Sept.
John George IV.	1694, 27th April.
Frederic Augustus I.	1733, 1st Feb.
Frederic Augustus II.	1763, 5th Oct.
Frederic Christian	1763, 17th Dec.
Frederic Augustus III. king 1806	1827, 6th May.
Frederic Augustus IV.	

XVII. BRANDENBURG.—HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

Joachim I. elector from 1493	1535, 11th July.
Joachim II.	1571, 3d Jan.
John George	1598, 8th Jan.
Joachim Frederic	1608, 18th July.
Joachim Sigismund, duke of Prussia 1618	1619, 23d Dec.
George William	1640, 21st Nov.
Frederic William the Great	1688, 29th April.
Frederic III. (I.) king of Prussia 1701	1713, 25th Feb.

	Death or abdication.
Frederic William I.	1740, 31st May.
Frederic II.	1786, 17th Aug.
Frederic William II.	1797, 17th Nov.
Frederic William III.	

XVIII. HANOVER.

George Augustus, elector from 1692	1698, 28th Jan.
George I. (see England)	

XIX. STADTHOLDERS IN HOLLAND.

ELDER LINE OF ORANGE.

William I. from 1572	1584, 10th July.
Maurice	1625, 23d April.
Henry Frederic "	1647, 14th May.
William II.	1650, 6th Nov.
William III. hereditary stadtholder from 1674	1702, 18th March.

YOUNGER LINE OF ORANGE.

William IV. general hereditary stadtholder from 1747	1751, 22d Oct.
William V.	1795, Jan.
William I. king of the Netherlands	

XX. TUSCANY.—MEDICI.

Alexander first duke 1531	1537, 7th Jan.
Cosmo I. (grand duke 1569)	1574, 21st April.
Francis	1587, 19th Oct.
Ferdinand I.	1608, 7th Feb.
Cosmo II.	1621, 28th Feb.
Ferdinand II.	1670, 24th March.
Cosmo III.	1723, 21st Oct.
John Gasto	1737, 9th July.

HOUSE OF LORRAINE.

	Death or abdication.
Francis Stephen	1765, 18th Aug.
Leopold I.	1790, 2d July.
Ferdinand	1824, 17th June.
Leopold II.	

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SINCE THE CONSTITUTION OF 1789.

George Washington from 1789	1797, 4th March.
John Adams	1801, "
Thomas Jefferson	1809, "
James Madison	1817, "
James Monroe	1825, "
John Q. Adams	1829, "
Andrew Jackson	

THE END.

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